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ABSTRACT

This status report on secondary education in the United States, prepared by the Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, identifies and analyzes problems and solutions in adolescent education. Issues in the report deal with major achievements and shortcomings of high schools; ways in which these institutions meet or fail to meet individual and societal needs; new directions in which these institutions must move to meet the problems of adolescent education; and the role that the federal government should play in promoting change. The two-year study found that the United States has nearly succeeded in the pursuit of the egalitarian aim of universal secondary education. Today, however, despite the fact that adolescents mature physically two years sooner than their grandparents, schools as an instructional imperative tend to prolong dependence. As a result, we have succeeded in producing a youth society housed in an overburdened institution excessively isolated from the reality of the community and the adult world. This isolation has negative effects with respect to fundamental education and civic goals. The latter half of the publication contains summarized results of the panel's 16 months of discussion, providing valuable substance of the 24 commissioned papers that bear on the education of adolescents and the way they live today. (Author/DE)

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Report of the

NATIONAL PANEL ON HIGH SCHOOLS AND ADOLESCENT EDUCATION

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DISCUSSION DRAFT

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FOREWORD TO THE FELLOWS

In 1972, under the direction of Commissioner of Education Sidney Marland, a national panel was organized by the U.S. Office of Education to study high schools and adolescent education.

The issues, purposes, and rationale for this study are as follows:

Issues. What are the major achievements and shortcomings of high schools in the nation? In what ways are these institutions meeting or failing to meet individual and societal needs? What are the new directions in which these institutions must move to meet the problems of adolescent education; and specifically, what role should the federal government play in assisting or promoting change?

Purposes. The purpose of the Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education (covering the ages 12-18) is to prepare an analytical report which would provide:

- a status report on secondary education in the U.S.;
- an identification and analysis of the problems of adolescent education in American society today;
- an identification of the kinds of reform, renewal and change needed, if any;
- a description of policy issues, research and development programs which would provide needed knowledge and information.

Rationale. The need for such a study arises from the following factors:

- There has been no comprehensive report on secondary education since the Conant reports of a decade ago.
- Student characteristics and societal conditions are changing rapidly, yet our secondary education institutions appear to have remained relatively static. We need to examine whether this stability is appropriate.
- None of the federal education programs focus on the secondary school as an institution, and only the vocational education program delivers any sizable quantity of funds. As a result, there has been little planning attention paid to the secondary schools.
- Most of the research and policy development in the intellectual community has been focused upon young children or on higher education institutions. The secondary school years have not received sufficient concern so that the intervening educational experience can be articulated with the changes above and below.
- Major problems exist in the secondary schools and in adolescent growth and development--manifest unrest and frequent racial conflict, a growing drug problem, inadequate preparation for work or higher education, alienation and lack of motivation, etc. Little is occurring to analyze these problems, their causes and approaches to solutions.

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CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTION

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THE CHAIRMAN'S DIGEST,

John Henry Martin

The past months spent in the strange idleness of recuperation from severe illness have provided an unforeseen dividend in making possible a review of the Panel's deliberations and report. As chairman I have been struck by the extraordinary balance and reasoned analysis which the members brought to the review of papers and issues. They stayed clear of the dogmatic, of sloganized reforms or ideological rigidity. They saw their recommendations as limited and non-utopian. They saw and emphasized that all change carried with it foreseeable and unforeseeable consequences, that improvement was the goal not replacement. Accordingly, my review of their recorded discussions and reading again the background papers and the Summary Report made me conscious of how easily deep analysis of an institution can lead to feeling that all is pathological. On the contrary, the Panel repeatedly was struck by the huge dimensions of the unique and essentially salutary achievement of universal secondary education in the United States. Therefore, I have sought in this personal statement to distill these several parts into a working summary that could serve as the basis for such brief releases to the field and the general public as you may desire.

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OBSERVATIONS

The American high school has grown from an institution serving scarcely 10% of the adolescent population in 1900 to a gigantic enterprise serving over 90% of the age group, graduating 75%. Only in the last 25 years has the high school succeeded in reaching more than 50% of adolescents. The monumental nature of this growth, while taken as commonplace domestically, can be better appreciated against current conditions in Western Europe where the most advanced nations provide formal schooling for but 4% to less than 20% of their adolescents. The secondary schools of the United States serve upwards of 18 million students, although the recent decline in the birth rate will stem continued growth.

Current criticisms of the high school need to be seen in the perspective of the magnitude of the organizational and administrative task required to expand plant and services during the past two decades. Building, staffing, and organizing have been the first priority for leaders in secondary education. The criticism that high schools lack creativity, emphasize conformity and obedience to rules, are intellectually dull, joyless, and that they inhibit staff, student and community participation in determining operational conditions has fallen upon sore and deaf ears. While the emphasis and the need has been upon organizational order, the official language of educators has always been characterized by adorational rhetoric in praise of creativity, intellectual discipline and democracy. School leaders have wanted democratic participation, a curriculum that would enhance intellectual probing, schools where the arts would rule, but at their backs they have always felt the pressures of a community whose first requirement called for our young

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to be housed in an orderly place at reasonable cost. Freedom has been seen as an idealism to be talked about, to be sought but always within the constraints of sheltering, moving, supervising large numbers in ever larger buildings. So the administrators of the schools have been unhappy with what they have considered to be the unfairness of the critics. "How," has been their response, "how do we teach groups of 25 or more students in 45-50 minute periods five times a day every working day of the week, in plants that house hundreds to thousands of adolescents? How do we perform our professional tasks and meet our societal commitment and not introduce disorder and chaos among large and diverse groups?"

* * *

Our first major observation of the American high school is a combination of our real appreciation for the nearly completed monumental task of providing universal schooling for all of our adolescents with the new understanding that in doing so we have been compelled to focus our energies on managerial problems to the inevitable neglect of some abstract purposes of education. Further, the neglect has not been due to hostility to the goals but rather to technical deficiencies in the means for achieving them, particularly under the constraints imposed by and inherent in the size of the high school and its internal organization. If this observation is correct, then the extent to which the panel can recommend changes which will be seen as being both feasible and manageable alternatives to present patterns, will determine the extent to which local educational agencies will move decisively in achieving both contingent and basic educational goals. Implicit in the above statement is a rejection of the widely held opinion that the high schools are the citadels of reaction and are led and staffed by reactionary groups hostile and reisitant to change.

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A second observation is the little noted fact that only in the last twenty years has the majority of our teenage adults, through absorption into the high school in this century, been increasingly separated from significant contact with older adults, other than parents and teachers. Thus the successful achievement of a high school experience for nearly every one has been accompanied by a de-coupling of the generations -- a delayed entry into the real adult would -- a prolongation of the institutional controls of childhood -- a loss in the early transmission of adult culture patterns leaving a whole age -- cohort with minimum social controls, subject to rapid fad-like whims, enthusiasms and imprecise adult models.

The Panel wishes to emphasize that this separation of the generations results from the organizational assumptions with which we have built our high schools. That is, the processes of education, to be accredited and recognized, had to occur in one institution. We could have decentralized education and worked to maintain and increase the early movement of adolescents into other learning situations that would include older adults. The critical "rites of passage" throughout history have been pubertal rites signalling the assignment of adult status which involved participation in marriage, work, and religion and citizenship responsibilities. In prolonging youth's dependence we have used our schools, inadvertantly, as the social "aging vats" that have isolated adolescents and delayed their learning adult roles, work habits and skills.

In the same seventy years of the 20th Century while the high schools have been having their extraordinary growth, the onset of

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puberty for males and females has been occurring at an ever younger age -- in fact two years earlier for today's adolescents than for their grandparents. While the evidence that this earlier physical maturation is universal in the countries broadly included in the term Western Civilization, and is generally credited to improved diet, evidence of a parallel growth in intellectual maturation must be assumed as a logical inference. Nevertheless, the high schools retain controls and supervisory practices more in keeping with the handling and control of masses of children in large institutions than in developing the potentials and increasing maturity for self-direction of young adults. Nevertheless, the schools have made some considerable academic progress in providing more advanced fare to their students.

We also observed that education for citizenship, one of the oldest purposes of schooling has stopped short of needed measures. From the earliest assumption that social knowledge, particularly history, would provide a basis for an effective citizenry in a republic, to World War I addition of civics education in the simple structures of government (i.e., the federal government is divided into three branches) to the efforts in the 60's of the social scientists to introduce a curriculum based upon understanding the methodology of social research there has been recognition of the need for realistic application of civic models which could define and recommend appropriate civic behavior. But little technical proficiency in closing the gap between classroom study and an active citizenship has been developed. Student participation in school management has been

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kept at a safe distance from the real discharges of responsibility, again, more out of the constraints inherent in the management of over-large institutions than in real philosophic hostility to democratic concepts. The contemporary over-blown language of educational goals has tended to blur the lack of correlation between practice and preachment.

General support, and federal subsidy, for high school vocational education remains high. Reviews of the research literature provided to us concluded that its favorable position is enjoyed more out of expectation than from performance. Investigators report that graduates of vocational programs tend not to be employed in the field of their training, that earnings do not exceed that of non-vocational students, that materials and equipment used and skills taught in vocational courses tend to be out-of-date with those of the market, and that little effort is made to tie training to job needs or to provide help in placement. Little recognition seems to have given to the fact that 50% of the high school population are, according to Labor Department definition, in the "labor force." Youth are employed, so far as can be discovered, heavily in part time and entry level jobs. The subtle mechanisms which accomplish this huge job finding and placement task seem to be informal, through social and familial grapevines, rather than through the ministrations of either school guidance agencies or the U. S. Employment Service. The latter claimed success for "less than 1% of the job placements for employed youth."

Unemployment figures for high school youth are generally double national figures, while to be black, urban and young is to at least double that figure again. Both employment opportunities and knowledge of job openings tend to be restricted in the inner city. The evidence strongly indicates that youth employment is a matter of opportunity. Adolescents want to work.

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The colonial and 19th Century assumtions that schools were but one of society's educative institutions with the family, that the church, and its involvement in local affairs were coordinate instructors and shapers of the young, has during this century been superseded by the schools being given and assuming an ever-increasing share of these responsibilities for education and the redress of socity's ills. Our early abiding faith that the school is a social and economic escalator, which overcomes the injustices of race, hereditary wealth and class, is currently under assault. Evidence (such as the Jencks study) shows school achievement to be overwhelmingly influenced more by family, social and economic status than by all other factors normally considered significant in affecting learning, including the schools. Additionally, the schools are accused of being ineffective in reducing the differences in wealth and its distribution in our society. Both these parallel sets of findings go against the long-held belief that more schooling meant more income and better job status. The Panel observed that Dewey's injunction to "Beware the argument that proves too much" would apply here. While other factors, primarily family, social and economic status, may be more decisive in determining school success and economic rewards than the schools alone, nevertheless the schools' effect upon even a small percentage of so large a population group is an extraordinary phenomena. If school education is only partially responsible for a social and economic meritocracy, it seems clear that limiting access to schooling for 80% or more of the population in the rest of the world cuts off even this much social and economic mobility. The problem then is not to restrict current schooling by reducing its compulsory age requirements (near 40% of the high school population attends voluntarily now), but to increase the power and consequences of education to discover and train talents and skills through programs that supplement the present marginal consequences of the school.

Surprisingly we found no research with significant findings to substantiate one organizational pattern over another. Four year high schools vs. three year schools, junior high schools, middle schools, six year schools or three-three schools, all lack a validating research base.

Our concluding observations deal with the governance of the schools, and their limitations and needs as initiators and managers of change. Local boards of education have been under considerable stress. Their historical isolation from conventional political affairs has also severly handicapped their capacity to deal cooperatively with other governmental programs. In addition, the high school as an administrative unit has been one of the more severly assaulted institutions of our times. Unresolved community racial tensions have been at their most abrasive in the high school. Blatant racism and violence have subsided, but the management of the large American high school in the past decade has been an exercise in survival. Viewed from the standpoint of community stability and social conservatism the administrators of the schools should be commended. Viewed from the standpoint of radical change, the same management is seen as repressive, "jail-like" and reactionary. The Panel observes that we have exacerbated our schools' burdens with race relations through too heavy a reliance on the schools as the nearly exclusive agency for reducing antagonisms and by the unnecessary large size of most high schools. Failure to plan the multiple programs of education through other agencies and media leaves the schools with more burden than they can discharge. Operating plants that house upwards of a thousand students are not in our judgment an optimal setting for improving inter-group and interpersonal relations. Once more the institutional imperatives of orderly movement and peaceful custody that result from sheer mass of numbers make efforts toward humane considerations of individuals difficult.

Accordingly, it is not surprising to find that there are additional limitations upon the schools as instruments to inaugurate and manage their own reform. Rigorous analysis of current conditions resulting in hard data is difficult to find. Establishing base lines against which to measure change is seldom undertaken. Criteria to evaluate increments of improvement and appropriate techniques employing them, have yet to produce effective instruments for managing change. The use of social indicator techniques to monitor and manage change, and the other tools of the system designer are appearing in the language of a few proposals for special funding, but not in the operating precincts of the schools. Last, but of major significance, the 20th Century view of the schools as the sole repository for education leaves concepts and programs for reform, intramural exercises inside the high school, rather than community based, government supported programs, which marshal resources, engender citizen commitment and provide performance-assessed criteria for testing our fundamental educational assumptions.

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CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTS

1. In reaching our goal of universal education for adolescents we have understandably concentrated on administrative and managerial problems attendant on the development of so huge an enterprise as secondary education.

2. A combination of several mutually supportive and justifying assumptions has led to the centralization of high school education into ever larger plants: 1) the efforts to provide a greater diversity of curricular offerings to match the diversity of population served; 2) the consequences of viewing the school and its staff as responsible under the law of *in locus parentis* for all-day supervisory care; and 3) the egalitarian impulse to serve all the youth in a community in a single school to avoid class segregation.

3. Large high schools, organized for reasons of economy and tradition around the classroom unit, have tended to be inflexible in their adaptive capacity to encompass newer instructional forms and procedures. The recent history of efforts to deploy teachers in different instructional modes (e.g., team teaching, use of paraprofessionals, modules and mini schools) demonstrate the institutional rigidity inherent to bigness: the priorities of management must override the interest of clients. In our well-founded urge to foster a classless and egalitarian society we have urged the creation of the comprehensive high school as the single educative agency for "all the children of all

the people", decrying the early twentieth century urban development of specialized vocational, commercial, college preparatory, and technical high schools as tending to segregate students by socio-economic class and intelligence. One consequence of this consolidating drive was the recognition that housing the broad range of talents and reducing the limitations in one plant would require a broader curriculum than smaller schools could provide. But that recognition failed to produce the needed variety of models because every subject and learning activity was locked into a classroom model which imposed staffing requirements and costs that local resources could not meet. Thus for forty years, the trend has been toward the consolidation, regionalizing, and centralizing of high schools in order to get population bases large enough to economically justify a wide range of curricular offerings. But we have learned in recent years that classes of 25-30 students are not the only economic and effective way to organize instruction. There are currently in use and development new forms of pupil/teacher relationships that are breaking the mold of the standard classroom. Secondly, scheduling flexibilities partially in place in some schools have broken the half and whole year duration of all courses and replaced them with six and ten week mini courses, which have multiplied the options available in many fields. Nevertheless, the meaning of these developments, taken in full for changing our notions of school size, has not been widely recognized or employed. Today nearly 50% of all high school youth are housed in schools of 1,000 or more students. But the pressure to combine high schools into larger units and to eliminate small schools continues, "small" being defined generally as less than 750-1,000 in student population. Thus, while the partial evidence of the few studies on the subject tends to confirm the general observation that as these institutions grow in size they also increase their bureaucratic and regulatory rigidities, making provisions for human differences in learning styles, interests, and abilities more complex and difficult to achieve. However, we are able to make provision for wider differences than we have thought economically conceivable or feasible under the old classroom model; we have examples in practice of mini-courses, mini-schools and out-of-school arrangements for learning that make obsolete our older concepts of comprehensive high school education. Thus we have lived for a generation with the paradox that increasing size was a necessary precondition to economically justify a diversity of school offerings, while size itself became a strong limitation of the flexibility needed to establish variable learning modes.

A second major assumption that has shaped the nature of the American high school has been the conviction that it could serve as a major if not sole instrument with which to cure our social ills. This faith in the power of schooling, aside from the current attack on its severe limitations, has encouraged the burdening of schools with more and more obligations: From the task of engendering racial harmony, teaching the evils of tobacco, alcohol, and other drugs, to sex education, the inventory of society's impositions on the school are a catalog of our community's old and new anxieties. Educators have abetted this process of curricular accretion through a rather innocent assumption that the school unilaterally (assuming a cooperative family) could reshape personalities, mold attitudes, raise ambitions, train skills, and impart knowledge in settings severly out of touch with other educational forces including the media, and the peer culture. The Panel is impressed with the innocence of this view of the power of an institution to effect change. Field observation will confirm that the academic day for almost all students in the American high school is seldom less than two hours and rarely extends to four hours of formal instruction. It is a tired observation that between infancy and adolescence the time spent in viewing television greatly exceeds time in school. As a single illustration, time devoted by schools to health and diet education, when measured against the time of exposure to television and the drum-roll impact of its commercials for everything including synthetic cereals and proprietary drugs, makes our reliance on schools in such instances as the sole educator at best naive. At worst, it is a form of malpractice. In addition, the excessive faith in the schools as the culture carrier and therapy agent for our society also results in a dilution and weakening of the schools' central task of stimulating stronger intellectual competence. We should heed Whitehead's wise counsel: "Do not teach too many subjects...and what you do teach, teach thoroughly!" By imposing too many tasks, we have overburdened our teachers and our schools. We know enough now to recognize that schools can at best play a supplemental role with other agencies and the media. Whichever agent is deemed suited to the amelioration of a social deficit, the high school's role should be studied with great care. Efforts should be made to reverse the trend of the last 70 years to rely excessively or exclusively on it.

An additional factor which vitiates the effectiveness of the high school is the inefficient deployment of teachers in tasks of little educational consequence. Because the tradition of in locus parentis creates a burden for the custody, supervision, feeding, and "closed campus" control of attendance, the administrators and staff are responsible for a six to seven hour housekeeping day in which less than four hours are spent by students and teachers alike in formal learning. Despite the heroic efforts of the National Association of Secondary School Principals in advocating flexible scheduling and team teaching as dual patterns which would break the excessive reliance on the standard classroom these variations have met with limited success. Few observers are aware that the high schools, suburban and urban, are staffed with ratios of teacher-to-student typically twice that maintained in the regular classrooms. Thus it is common to find high schools staffed with one qualified professional for each 15 students, where the actual classrooms generally contain 30 students. This inefficient deployment results in part from the non-teaching "overburden" and the unnecessary custodial supervision. Remedies for these conditions, for which we pay twice as much as we receive, will not come through internal tinkering. Rather, remedies to succeed must change the several idealogical concepts which govern the organization. Examples are the assumptions that education needs to occur in one building called the high school; that the school must accept responsibility for the all-day-long custody of its students, that instruction and

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learning is largely limited to the classroom model, and that the accreditation of learning is limited to traditional measures of school conducted instruction.

4. The tradition of keeping the schools free from political meddling in order to protect the curriculum and the staff from the baleful effects of vested interests and patronage have unfortunately reinforced the isolation of the schools from all other educational enterprises. This has tended to keep our understanding of education narrowed to that which could take place only in a school. The powerful dynamic to learning which comes from direct experience has accordingly been vitiated in an overemphasis on the classroom as the place for learning. We see no incompatibility between moving several segments of education into a closer relationship to the community while maintaining the political immunity of the schools. There will be risks, but the need to bring greater realism and social engagement to the education of adolescents warrants the move.

5. Concentrating education in high school has also produced the excessive isolation of adolescents from all other age groups in our society. Uncoupling our youngest adults from contact with older generations has resulted in a breakdown in the transmission mechanisms of society. A disconnected youth society or societies characterized by rapid change and generational hostilities has resulted. The recency, less than 25 years, of the high school's enrollment of the whole age group, has tended to delay recognition that in the name of universal formal education we have broken the informal educational links which

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tended to stabilize values and provide continuity to social roles. We are also concerned with the loss of youths' idealism that served as a refreshing prod to the too early resignation by adults to the world as it is. In the name of education we have delayed the entry of adolescents into the adult world. But we do not see nor shall we recommend a return to yesterday's more exclusive high school or a retreat to a lower age for compulsory schooling. Instead we shall suggest new educational settings to supplement the high school which will combine the enrollment of older adults with adolescents: we shall also recommend shortening the school day to encourage earlier work opportunities complementary to schooling.

6. Despite the evidence of the earlier maturation of adolescents by two years in the last seventy, the schools have been required to continue a costly custodial responsibility for a school day twice as long as needed or actually used in formal instruction. We baby-sit, at very high cost during the day, the nation's nighttime baby-sitters: we trust our infants to their care, but impose childish and costly controls over them.

7. Our expanding knowledge of human growth and development calls for the recognition that learning patterns, organizations for instruction, size of groups involved, the effectiveness of peer tutoring, the deployment of teachers and aides, the role of on-the-site learning as well as the proliferation of knowledge in traditional subjects make the conventional conception of the high school as the single

container for formal learning an impossible constriction on programs, teachers and administrators that can't be stretched to meet these needs.

8. In the light of the foregoing observations we must:
   a. Reduce the isolation of the high school and the imposition of sole source obligations upon it.
   b. Reduce the isolation of adolescents by opening learning centers for adolescents and other adults separate from the high school.
   c. Reduce the isolation of adolescents by facilitating their early and increased entry into the work force.
   d. Provide for the great range in human differences in learning behaviors, needs and interests through the development of new organizational forms, groups and places for education.
   e. Examine and expand the role of the media as both formal and informal transmitters of education. Sesame Street for adults is shorthand for saying that mastering the graphic, dramatic, script and directing requirements of the several media for educational use has scarcely begun. Films, radio, and TV are currently minor and peripheral to formal education. They are already powerful instruments with significant educational consequences. Formal use for teaching outside

the schools needs greater examination. Physics, or history or consumer buying, or most all formal subjects can be "taught" through the use of dramatic, graphic, media techniques developed by television and radio.

f. Recognize that establishing non-school centers or complementary programs in education will require, as a consequence, changes in accrediting procedures. The old Carnegie unit with time and grade as the basis for high school graduation and for college admission and for a job will need to be supplemented by recognition of the validity of experience and training outside the school and classroom. We would conclude that the agency needed for these purposes should be autonomous, not responsible to the high school alone, a counseling and educational evaluating agency for a whole community. Guidance counselors, psychometricians and other auxillary personnel need to become client-centered evaluators of all learning whether school administered, on-the-job learned, self taught, or learned through special participation in the adult world.

9. The administration of new centers and activities for education must not be imposed upon the existing high school.

Independent operations whether supported in whole, part, or not at all by board of education tax resources will need coordinating relationships with each other. These will range across a loose network from the mandatory, the cooperative, the contractual, to the autonomous and independent. Some activities using tax funds will under some circumstances by closely held to existing school controls, others will develop pragmatically as parallel operations that function best without hierarchical relationships.

10. We observed and conclude that the concepts and technical skills needed to plan, install, and then modify and evaluate change in the programs for the education of adolescents are circumscribed by a series of institutionally held systems of belief.

Program planners in schools have difficulty in the quantitative analysis of current conditions. Hard data is hard to come by. The need to establish a base line against which to measure change is rarely considered. Control of variables directly and indirectly affecting outcomes is inadequate. Cost benefit and performance accountability language have penetrated proposal writing but have produced little application. A change program is viewed holistically, not to by modified in practice. Formative evaluation of change and the need to design feedback mechanisms that will monitor change for the purpose of making corrective adaptations is almost non-existant.

Public participation in educational decision making continues to be sporadic, worrisome to staff, and tends to be viewed as being protectively needed but always to be held at arms length against a dangerous potential for intrusion on management prerogatives.

There are leaders in secondary education who reject the above observations. They do know how to plan, operate and evaluate change. They are persuaded that broadly based citizens groups have much to offer. But they live in extraordinary isolation and a realistic sense of their political exposure inhibits their leadership and productivity.

In general the skills of the systems analysts and designers are missing from the schools. Flow chart monitoring of new complex patterns for learning is almost an unknown art in our high schools. Systems analysis is vulgarized rather than adapted to educational problems.

We observed and conclude that research findings to support existing educational forms and practices or for their redesign are deficient and fragmented, and that this nation's technology can and should be wisely used to achieve possible and desirable goals.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. That we replace the unattained concept of the comprehensive high school with the more practical goal of providing comprehensive education through a variety of means including the schools.

The first has sought to impose on a single institution all the variations in programs and services that the needs of an extraordinarily diverse population required. It has resulted in oversized institutions increasingly difficult to manage. artificially held to narrow pedagogic practices, overburdened with custodial responsibility, and isolated from the community.

2. That we inaugurate educational programs for the joint participation of adolescents and other interested and qualified adults in the

community. Thus we call for pedagogical programs which may be designated Participatory Education (learning, by doing what is socially useful, personally satisfying and health supporting for the individual and the community.)

We see three major areas of education that lend themselves to such combined participation -- education in the arts, vocational education, and education in the operations of government.

For educating in the arts we would recommend the creation of a community arts center closely associated with the high school. Governed and sponsored by a Community Council for the Arts, the center would provide facilities and support for all the arts and crafts for which sustaining interest was forthcoming. Local amateurs and professionals, voluntary assistants and paid personnel would compete for program space for and instruction in sculpturing, dancing, photography, weaving, painting, drama, interior design, and macrame for day and night programs. Enrolling adolescents and other more mature adults including grandparents our vision of the re-integration of the generations in activities where age is the most irrelevant of criteria for participation should bring new vitality to learning, to the arts and to community cohesion.

We recommend the creation of a Community Career Education Center.

For vocational education we would reduce emphasis upon job training in the high school and increase work experience, on-the-job training, job finding resources, and career information activities, all located and carried on in the community. We would urge the removal of those regulations including tax and insurance penalties that handicap and limit the employment of adolescents beyond the dictates of an up-dated concern for safety. We would not urge the special reduction in the minimum wage laws. Using youth to displace the marginally employed, the old and the handicapped or as a competitive source of cheap labor is a disservice to both the economy and to education. With half the age group already in the work force our suggestions are to facilitate the growth of employment opportunities for still more as a necessary adjunct to formal education. It is in the market place that post pubertal youth have a traditional place for learning economic responsibility, the first a b c's of job-holding diplomacy, of new adult roles, beyond the models of family and school. We are not trumpeting the virtues of a work ethic, rather the removal of the artificial delay in education for maturity, which the segregated grouping of the high school has innocently imposed. We see the need for coordination between manpower training programs federally supported and much vocational education in the schools.

The education of citizens for a republic is central to the concept of education, as much for us as it was for Plato.

The Panel recommends that adolescents, in addition to the academic study of the social sciences and their methodology, should be involved in government, in all appropriate agencies within geographic reach. The involvement should be diverse: voluntary, including internships to specific positions, aides, part-time employees at adult wage scales, and observation for short-term study assignments tied to school seminars and classes.

The schools need to be the *laboratories-for-error* in learning the roles of citizens. This means realistic participation in the operation and management of the school. It is the only fail-safe institution available for learning the consequences of neglect, venality and the sense of power. Studied experiments in such consequences should be the school's curriculum in citizenship.

Finally, every community needa a permanent group of citizen volunteers, including adolescents, whose functions should be to observe, investigate, and publicly to report on all government operations. Not as tattletales but as concerned citizens. Their range of concerns would be all that local talent could sustain. But the function of citizen inquiry into government needs reinforcement and the leaven of older adults with adolescents' idealism should be helpful to the political health of any town (and safeguards that students do not become "Red guards".)

3. That we add to these three major programs in the arts, vocational and citizenship education, we recommend the *ad hoc* establishment of one or more small part-time schools open to all those qualified and interested. For example, a writers school open daily for afternoon and evening sessions for small seminars and tutorial sessions staffed by professional writers and teachers in such fields a journalism, poetry, drama, fiction, and political advocacy. If talents and interests warrented, mathematics, astronomy, and nature study schools, could be sponsored among the many other fields of human learning.

4. That we concentrate compulsory daily attendance from all-day sessions to an academic day of 2-4 hours. On the operational theory of gradualism, the Panel recommends such initial steps as reducing all-day attendance requirements for seniors, then as experience warrants, adding more. Reducing the school day without providing complementary educational activities in the community with other adults is not recommended.

With a high school academic day of 2-4 hours, every adolescent on some days of the week could be deeply involved in one or more "schools" or programs or work or service as a co-equal part of his or her education. Real learning takes intensity and time. Two to four hours a day several days a week, or daily is a necessary concentration of effort by the musician, football player, dancer, polititian, or scientist. The present all-day high school is a costly intruder on this need for both time and program variety. We see these new institutions and programs as complementary rather than as competitive alternatives. Hopefully the number of non-high school options will exceed by far any individual's available time.

5. That we reemphasize the basic role of the high school as society's only universal institution for the education of the intellect.

By casting off those acitvities and responsibilities which have accrued through the years without adequate review of other means for the acquisition of skills for their operation, we believe the resources of the high school can be concentrated in such areas as maturing competency in reading, i.e. reading analytically and critically, in learning a new literacy for understanding media -- the modern day equivalent of movable type, learning to write a clear prose, to be proficient in the arithmetic of handling and budgeting money, to be competent in using the resources of the public library, to be able to assemble information from a variety of sources germane to an area of personal and community concern. These and more are essential skills susceptible to training. Directing the focus of the high school's efforts on them will come only with the reduction in the global goals of secondary education. We are too accustomed to educational courses whose outcomes are inferred though rarely assured. That is, we assume that the study of history will add to a citizen's capacity to understand current affairs; we assume that the study of a foreign language will produce some conversational competance in that tongue as well as some degree of affection for those for whom the language is native; we assume the study of mathematics beyond arithmetic computation will train the mind in logic, inference, and the difference between inductive and deductive reasoning. But the evidence is heavily to the contrary. It is our hope that the removal of non-academic fat will result in a needed lean and hungry devotion to the development of a maturing intellect.

6. That we establish a Community Guidance Center. Move such qualified personnel as counselors, psychologists, social workers, and technicians in the construction, administration and analysis of test and other evaluative procedures from the high school and other agencies into a new center independent of educational agencies. The center would serve as an evaluator of educational results obtained from whatever source. With opportunities for learning available from school, work, study, the media, and community service, it is important to develop and locate the means for accrediting acquired competencies and skills in an agency whose allegiance is to the learner and not to the instructional source.

Employers and colleges are under pressure from the courts and from experienced good sense to recognize that Carnegie unit transcripts are less predictive than direct statements descriptive of a candidate's relevant proficiencies to the job or academic success. Establishing a new agency to serve as evaluator and ombudsman will bring greater realism to the efforts of all educational programs including those of the school.

7. That local educational agencies need to understand that all the preceding recommendations are to be considered as working hypotheses to be rigorously tested through small scale adaptations, careful monitoring and ruthless evaluation. The Panel cautions against the enthusiastic installation of several programs in any one community too rapidly. We would urge deliberate caution and patience and the avoidance of the "pilot program" impulse to try once and reject.

8. That citizen and adolescent participation in planning and reviewing change in education is vital to its installation and maintenance.

The present boards of education need at the least strong infusions of broader representation and local support. All government today is being viewed with some suspicion and local taxes are being increasingly resented. Change without the leaven of proprietary understanding by the citizenry is in these days a most fragile thing. In addition, change whose form and substance have been predetermined by school leaders makes the participation of citizens, teachers, and students a charade undertaken as a manipulative procedure. Rather, we would urge that our recommendations be seen as general concepts in need of critical analysis and design for adaptation to local circumstances. Skepticism is a trait in need of cultivation in education.

For example, local analysis may verify the Panel's observation that the present use of staff is inefficient resulting from a school day of 6-7 hours of which only 2-4 hours are in formal learning. To jump to the conclusion that reducing the school day by one half is the whole answer would in the view of the Panel be hazardous. The presumed savings in staff time or their redeployment, in building space, and the need for bonding new construction, as well as the additional employment of adolescents all need local documentation. There are undoubtedly many communities where many of these predictable consequences will occur if the all-day, closed campus control of students is ended. But there are no circumstances where the Panel would urge such a decision without parallel supportive actions. Factors to be studied include busing requirements for the intermittent arrival and departure of blocks of students throughout an extended day-night schedule, new and added employment opportunities in government and business, and parent reactions to potential idleness and the end of all-day custodial care. Accordingly, we see the decision to reduce the compulsory length of the school day as a good example of the interlocking domino nature of educational change that mandates comprehensive planning to replace the piecemeal adoption of fads.

Accordingly, we recommend that citizen and student participation in the governance of education be extended to all new institutions and programs.

Public vigilance is a necessary counter to the ever present tendency for agencies to retreat from their original goals and the continuing education in these affairs of all participants is essential.

9. That the Federal Government through the U. S. Office of Education and the National Insitiute of Education sponsor research to provide local education agencies the technical support needed for programs of change. There is always a dearth of refined information about student or teacher performance and programs.

The present state of research in the social and behavioral sciences stops short of translating their findings into operating models derived from pilot programs. NIE's Experimental Schools are pioneering the development of narrative accounts of local school change programs. Such monographs of case studies of change with added criticisms and analysis are vitally needed in education as guides for practicing administrators. Research without field testing is of little use to the work-a-day world of the schools.

We know too little about social structures involving adolescents and older adults working together in learning arrangements or in action-oriented organizations. We are hierarchically minded and therefore more accustomed to status relationships based upon wealth, class, power, sex, race and age than we are to peer groupings in which an internal meritocracy based upon task performance develops. We recognize freedom as relief from or absence of abuse. But we are less able to understand our roles when freedom requires us to change our impositions on those with subordinate or vulnerable status.

We are culturally taught, in social and institutional settings, subtle dominance and submission patterns of personal behavior. We are less successful in teaching interpersonal relations whose basis is peer centered and democratic. This is strikingly apparent when adolescents or the poor or the representatives of newly recognized minorities meet to work with established agencies. There is wisdom in the group that discovers its group-identity. Research studies of the dynamics of behavior, the rewards and sanctions of human interactions are critically needed. We don't know how to effectively work with our adolescents in increasingly adult patterns. Good will and doctrinaire notions of egalitarian ideals maybe helpful but are inadequate to the needs and strains of our times, and the politics of confrontation is costly and insensitive to the problems we must always face.

Research is needed in how to plan new social institutions for learning. We need new places for education. Architects and engineers can blueprint the physical plant. But the parallel blueprinting of the operational parameters of a new institution is a technical art undeveloped in education -- beyond the table of organization, job descriptions, presumed outcomes and appropriate budget. For example, the constant appearance of the term "team-teaching" in project applications for federal or state funding would lead to the faulty conclusion that in practice the required skills and behaviors for successful application were available and known. In fact, extensive field observations indicate the reverse to be true. The written and conversational language of team teachers contains many of the chapter headings that analysis of the concept requires. But little depth or understanding of the complex status shifts that successful operation of this pedagogical design requires. The changed roles of students with each other and staff are not forecast and planned. They happen and not always for the best! Accordingly, outcome measures are vague. The real internal workings of this instructional system come to bear little relationship to the origional and simplistic descriptions.

Research is needed to develop instruments and techniques for the evaluation of outcomes, more complex than the present group tests of the most elementary academic skills. Tests are needed which give precision to measures of mastery of each of a series of skills and understandings that together represent a hierarchy of competency. Techniques for evaluating growing maturity in interpersonal behavior are needed, their development is beyond the ability of local educational agencies.

Research in the constitution of the staff and organization needed to develop and manage change at the local level is needed. The present structure including state departments, boards of education, central office administrators, teachers organizations and parent groups have all come into being as participants in an historically derived organization. All exist and are trained in their roles as managers or participants, not for their functions as designers of change. Accordingly, one finds improvisation and patched-on functions to be the rule. Rare is the recognition that the management of change needs new strategies and scenarios for new roles to govern itself.

Develop for television in all its forms, dynamic, graphic, and dramatic films and tapes for each of the several basic subjects of the traditional high school and assure ways whereby schools for adolescents can become centers of productive inquiry.

What has been done for reading with Sesame Street is now under development for college science needs to be undertaken at the high school community college levels. Instructional patterns using TV broadcasts should include such variations as the weekly seminar, tutorial access, supplemental reading and accreditation procedures.

Fund with federal support and state review the costs of planning including evaluation of programs designed to bring adolescents and adults together for learning and work. After program review against criteria which require evidence of student and citizen participation, specific roles and agreements among agencies in addition to local education, including shared budget responsibilities, and a table of organization, provide federal funds for that portion of operating costs attributed to start-up needs and all the costs of an intensive evaluation both over a period of three to five years. Requiring a documentary case history with a critical review is a necessary tool for improving the local administration of change as well as serving the need for disseminating usable results.

The school for adolescents that is immanent in this report must be more than a parcel of real estate, more than a focus of community attention and contention. It is social process and civic function with one central pedagogic purpose: the safe passage of our youth into adulthood and the citizen's estate.

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INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

The Panel, assembled under the chairmanship of Dr. John Henry Martin, met for the first time on the weekend of February 2, 1972 and held subsequent meetings once a month through June 1973. In addition, individual members and subcommittees made visits to schools and school systems, and interviewed educational leaders, some of whom were invited to meet with the full panel. Others were commissioned to write position papers in the fields of special interest.

Dr. Sydney Marland, then Assistant Secretary of H.E.W. for Education, instructed the panel to consider the following issues and questions:

1. What are the major achievements and shortcomings of high schools in the Nation?
2. In what ways are these institutions meeting or failing to meet individual or societal needs?
3. What are the new directions in which these institutions must move to meet the problems of adolescent education?
4. What role should the Federal Government play in assisting or prompting change?

The Panel saw its task as including: an attempt to provide a status report on secondary education in the U.S.; an identification of the kinds of needed renewal, reform and change, as well as warranted defense of present organization and practices; a description of policy issues, research and development programs which would provide needed knowledge and coherent information in support of suggested policies and program proposals.

The need for such a study by this Panel arose from the following factors: At the time the Panel received its assignment there had been no comprehensive report on secondary education since the work of Dr. James Bryant Conant over a decade ago.

Student characteristics and societal conditions are changing rapidly, yet our secondary education institutions appear to have remained relatively static. Is such stability warranted?

No significant Federally-supported education programs focus on the secondary school as an institution, and only vocational education programs receive any significant Federal financial support. As a result there has been little planning attention given to the secondary schools.

Most of the research and policy development in the intellectual community has been focused upon young children or on the institutions of higher education. The secondary schools have not received adequate attention so that the intervening educational experience can be articulated with the changes above and below.

Major problems exist in the secondary schools and as a consequence of changing patterns of adolescent growth and development--manifest unrest and frequent racial conflict; a growing drug problem (sometimes described as a culture); inadequate preparation for work or for higher education; alienation from the rest of society and lack of motivation to enter adult life. There is not much evidence that orderly efforts are being made to analyze these problems and their causes and to suggest solutions.

Therefore, the Panel accepted its assignment to address these problems.

The Panel agreed that no one organization can carry the task of universal education for adolescents. One significant finding of the Panel was the increased public awareness that the high school, as an institution, is not merely inappropriate for a growing number of students. It is increasingly ill-matched to many, possibly a growing majority, of its present adolescent population who are either too old or too mature to live under the routine controls and strictures of a large high school without serious disturbance to them and to the school.

The High School as it presently exists, regardless of its size or organization, is in most of its essentials the academic institution from which it emerged near the end of the 19th century. It has changed in many of its aspects, fitfully expanding but without much long-ranged planning from an institution designed to train a small proportion of highly selected adolescents for scholarly or professional careers, into an all-purpose, all-welcoming almost inescapable agency for almost all of this country's adolescents. In attempting to meet the needs of all American youth the high school today appears to be failing to respond adequately to the needs of the individual students. The traditional pattern of curricula and administrative development appears to be one of attempting to treat changing populations (or at least changing generations of students from shifting populations) to fit an institution that is essentially static. Its academic aura persists, along with its biases and values. Most of its values are deservedly cherished, but their articulation and their usage in contemporary life seem alien to many of the students whose informal but powerful collateral education is being gained via television, the other media, and the groups within the community with whom they associate. The comprehensive high school, which is the most recent development of the institution, has left the high school with its academic character weakened but still persisting, and its capacity to alter its structure to meet contemporary requirements for adolescent education not significantly strengthened.

The Panel is persuaded that both as an institution and as a social concept the American High School will remain as the keystone of this Nation's educational system. It requires orderly alteration. It must become flexible with respect to the shifting demands that changing populations place upon it. It must be responsive to the alteration and enlargement of parental and community expectations. It must, however, remain true to its essential heritage as the first formal transmitter of our culture and history, the testing and training field of our youth in their preparation for adulthood and citizenship, and the crucial agency in the community wherein the children of all groups learn to live both together and apart.

From its beginnings in this Nation, public education received citizen, and hence governmental support because of certain unarticulated major assumptions: that the basic skills of reading, writing and arithmetic were essential to the advancement of the arts, skills, crafts and trade; that further education in the realms of ideas and values, in history, philosophy and the natural sciences, and for the appropriately selected few, in the professions and vocations, would assure this Nation a healthy, alert and loyal citizenry; and that these citizens would produce their own trustworthy and inspired leadership. As a consequence thereof the Destiny of the Nation would be guaranteed and merited.

From its beginnings, the Common School provided the children of all freemen a common education and a common induction into the adult world of politics and enterprise, upon the assumption that they would thus be sharing allegiances, commitments, concerns and convictions with respect to the policy and renewing the ranks their forebears filled, who ordained and established this Nation.

There was more faith than foresight in these early convictions and assumptions. They were expressions of a naive civic courage and a certainty that the verities would be universally accepted and practiced; that no man would demean another, not even a slave; that all men were of equal worth (providing they spoke the same language and were identifiable as Christians); that they would give a "day's work for a day's pay"; and that they would respect the law-of-the-land.

Education was seen as the "sovereign engine of democracy" and on the scantiest of evidence was expected to provide solutions to all our problems, social, civic and private. So the schools flourished, everywhere at all levels, from the Little Red School House to the Land Grant College, in the teeming cities and on rural hillsides. Teachers were found or trained to teach whatever was needed to provide hands and minds for our growing industries and institutions. All this was evidence that America was Arcadia Recreated, a great agrarian Motherland where even the industrial cities and seaports pulsed to the rhythms of the seasons, where every virtue was firmly anchored in the faith of the verdant countryside. This is the imprecise American Dream, illustrated by Norman Rockwell and recorded by Edna Ferber, not quite true to life, but close to hope, generous enough to excite an appetite for tomorrow, but ultimately treacherous in its differential generosity, for not all who are called are welcomed.

What is needed, the Panel agrees, is a combination of organizations for the delivery of educational services where young people from a variety of backgrounds, with differing attitudes and abilities, will have experiences appropriate to their various needs. Included among these organizations are what we now call schools.

The following points are made about the structure and function of contemporary institutions of adolescent education:

1. In the high schools we have isolated adolescents both from children and adults.
2. We have isolated high schools from other institutions in society and thereby have been forced to try to make the high schools self-contained with respect to collateral services to youth,

the community and their parents.

3. Because of the design and isolation of the high schools we have effectively "decoupled the generations." By this we mean that except for educators and their collaborating professions (and in large cities, the police), youth have no informing contact with adults engaged in their trades and professions.

4. In spite of overwhelming physiological evidence and suggestive psychological evidence, we maintain the high schools as "aging vats" and custodial shelters to protect our "immature" young from possible economic and emotional exploitation. For example, we maintain unrevised child labor laws (as we do those protecting women), although the need for them is no longer explicit or imperative. The fact that boys and girls mature "physiologically" at least two years earlier than they did seventy years ago, that the extended family disappeared two generations ago, and that the means of industrial production and the delivery of commercial services are in general less onerous and dangerous than they were at the turn of the century, makes unnecessary and

unwise the continued severe isolation of our youth from the age groups.

In the light of the foregoing, the Panel recommends that the reconstruction of the institutions of adolescent education requires:

(a) The creation of community-based sites and programs which will have as their central thrusts the education of adolescents but will pursue that mission within broader civic contexts than schools presently provide.

(b) This entails opening all post-childhood educational institutions to older youth and adults. This requires the extension of secondary education into the domain of the junior and community colleges and to reenforce their wavering commitment as primarily _teaching institutions_. But even more important, it will encourage the creation of satellite centers with single or limited purposes. It is therefore strongly recommended that the reconstruction of the institutions of adolescent education provide wide areas and long time periods for inducting youth and young adults into the worlds of work, scholarship and civic life. These reconstructed schools and new institutions should be structurally and organizationally insured against becoming insulated and isolated from the environing society. The heterogeneity of adolescence is greater than the present institutional structures of secondary education can encompass. Awareness of this has led educators to make efforts to add programs, diversify courses, extend services within the existing institution or parallel to it. Such efforts often result in the creation of--mini schools, schools-without-walls, open schools, alternative schools, optimal programs, internships, parallel courses, independent study, free schools, and apprentice and action learning. All of these undertakings represent efforts to develop educational settings, courses and programs, in some degree eternal to the physical plant of the conventional school. Some of the creators of these "alternative schools" are motivated by revolutionary hostility to the existing society and its institutions. Others are motivated by a concern for what they believe schools do hurtfully to children. Others question racist patterns. Some see the internal organization of present schooling as requiring a subservient role for the student and are designed to produce the docility needed for future factory employment. Others question the intellectual shallowness of the curriculum and resultant learning. Still others, including members of this Panel, suggest that the decentralization of secondary education is imperative today. One strategy would give program recognition and approval to smaller groupings of young adults who, together with teachers and other adults in the community, choose to plan and create substructures for learning. These will make possible the celebrating of human differences by encouraging these differences to be productively expressed.

It is important to note recent experience with alternative school and learning environments. Such mini-institutions have a high mortality rate. They tend to attract a narrow range of clientele, reenforcing none-too-latent racial, segregationist and elitist tendencies of many reformers. Learning goals tend to be fudged and difficult to measure or account for. Administration becomes complex, and responsibilities for outcomes remain cloudy and anxiety-ridden. But the Panel sees a promise of bringing a halt to the conglomerating of the high school and other adolescent-serving centers which add more and more of society's ills to their instructional burdens.

Perhaps the best way to summarize the recommendations of the Panel on these matters is to see them as a call for comprehensive education through complimentary arrangements and linkages among many organizations _including schools_. The Panel is calling for a shift in emphasis from the comprehensive school and toward comprehensive education, arguing that the confines of one building are no longer enough to contain all the valuable and necessary experiences for today's young person. What is needed is greater diversity in formal education, which reflects the actual diversity of the learning situations and the variety of experience that living in today's world demands. If a goal of formal education institutions is the creation of the best learning environment, then education must be considered in a new way. We must ask, "What are the best situations in which learning can take place?", not "How do we fit such learning situations into the school?"

The Panel's observations and discussions over the past 16 months, we emphasize, are not extraordinary nor are our recommendations exceptional. To summarize, we found that:

1. We have nearly succeeded in our pursuit of the egalitarian aim of universal secondary education.
2. We recognized that universal participation required a diversity of programs; and
3. We developed the concept, but scarcely the reality, of a comprehensive high school to encompass both a range of educational purposes and an integrated social setting for all youth.
4. We found that adolescents mature physically two years sooner than their grandparents, but schools as an institutional imperative tend to prolong dependency. As a result, we have succeeded in producing a youth society housed in an overburdened institution excessively isolated from the reality of the community and the adult world.

5. Despite these burdens the high schools, housing more than 15 million adolescents, have functioned remarkably well by most measures. It remains a uniquely American mass institution not subject to rapid or radical change. It has been sending into the world of work and of higher education increasingly larger and better prepared cohorts.

6. But its isolation and the isolation of its clientele is in our judgment having negative effects with respect to fundamental educational and civic goals.

7. The isolation of youth denies many of those goals of education that come from mingling in real situations with older adults. Youth restricted to youth exert great divisive pressure on the nuclear family and they lack adult stabilizers to dampen oscillating, unmindful change seeking.

8. The isolation of youth denies to the adult world youth's vigor, their impatience with the expedient, and their venturous idealism.

9. The isolation of the high school, with the parallel presumption that it is the sole site for education, gives it too much to do and results in many academic and uneconomic distortions of reality.

The American High School staggers under a burden of a large number of shifting responsibilities and hopes, and moreover the institution is seen as the source of panaceas for major social ills. It operates to a significant degree apart from other life-support systems in society. Understandably such an institution comes to be characterized by a combination of unrealistic goals and parochial means. Particularly in our society, that combination has led to a growing loss of public support and the schools' frustration in fulfilling its putative tasks.

We are no longer sure what the schools' job is. We are offered very persuasive evidence that so far as attainable economic self-sufficiency of individuals are concerned, "Schools are marginal institutions." Yet we will not desert our old-time secular religion. No matter how we damn them, no matter how harsh our personal memories are of some schools and some teachers, when we look into the eyes of our first-born child we think of school and hope for magic, this time, and recite some portion of the American Dream.

We accept as reality that schools are marginal institutions, but what margins they work in! We believe, on considerable historical and personal evidence, that schools can make a difference. If society-at-large is the greatest teacher, as Socrates insisted, if the prepotent mass media, museums, libraries, churches, street corners, and families will exert more powerful formative influence upon the individual, it is the formal education achievable in schools that makes differences count. Rationality, orderly inquiry, the patient accumulation of skills, the testing of ideas, the measuring of current experience against the fields of literature and history, the aids to social navigation to be found in some curricula, the rare and wonderful teacher who can become the right mentor and model, we are, as a panel, cautiously in agreement, that all of these are more likely to happen in a formal school than in any other "arranged" learning environment or within the tribal occasions of "peer groups."

None of this is to deny that the schools, especially the schools for adolescent education, are neither as efficient nor as effective as we need them to be. In the cities they have grown too large, have become unresponsive and insensitive to the needs especially of the black and Spanish-surnamed student and the very poor anywhere. They exacerbate the failure in language instruction that almost inevitably occurs in the elementary schools. In attempting to be comprehensive, they present an olio of courses that lead too often to new frustration. In attempting to be "innovative" in order to appear alert to changing needs, they splinter their curriculum into busywork and drift deeper into an imposed custodial function that often drives the majority of the students out of the school shortly after the roll is taken. When they attempt to provide vocational "training" they are so often out of phase with industrial and commercial requirements that their graduates are no more employable than their dropouts.

The indictments are easily multiplied. In the more fortunate suburbs, even in the best schools, the senior year is an emotional and academic wasteland. It is something of a pedagogical miracle that the students do as well as they do, that so many of the reach and succeed in college. These indictments, all too familiar, have an element of caricature about them. They too easily absorb the rhetoric of destructive dissent and protest, but beyond the distortions, beyond the travesties, is the inescapable fact that our institutions for adolescent education must be reconstructed. Their purposes need reexamination and refinement.

The Panel is mindful that it runs the risk of being accused of simplistic (or at least reductionist) thinking in asserting that comprehensive education for adolescents must be tested by its collective capacity to provide appropriate balance and curricula mix in the following five domains:

1. Personal values; having to do with self-hood and sanity--concerned with issues and problems of identity, fidelity, association, independence, collective behavior and responsibility.
2. Citizenship; by which is meant a clear sense of the polity, the commonwealth, the resonance between personal values and community goals, the give-and-take between citizen and private person, an awareness of and acceptance of the "generalized other" (cf. the too-long-overlooked work of George Herbert Mead and its relationship to what we know about "social indicators") (e.g., Peter J. Henriot in his "Political Aspects of Social Indicators: Implications for Research," Russell Sage Foundation, 1972, p. 5). "The concern for 'quality of life' is a highly political concern; hence measurement of the quality of life

(a practical objective of social indicators work) has inevitable political implications."

One cannot teach about, learn about or experience citizenship without behaving politically. One cannot care about the consequences of public behavior, of public policy-decisions, without having developed an "engaged" political sense. Therefore, a pedagogy of citizenship is essential and should be required for all institutions of adolescent education, which would have among its outcomes, civility, caring, cooperativeness, non-aversive criticism and with emphasis on a lively concern for the common good in real situations, in and out of school.

3. The Arts are central to humane existence; they are both commentary and confirmation of the quality of life both of their times and as their times regard the "historical record." They cannot exist or be practiced or pursued in isolation from the rest of humane affairs, for they provide, as no other human domain can, a vantage point from which to view and assess the varieties of human occasions and endeavors. In the generous society,

the Museum looks out upon the Marketplace and inward to the Sanctuary and assures that no one is alien to the other.

4. The Humanities is understood to include all of the sciences and all of the humanistic disciplines through which man examines, records, assesses, inquires into and experiments with (even plays with) the events, conditions and forces of existence. The Humanities, in this formulation, are concerned with knowing, in order to understand, toward ends that wisdom may be approached, leading back through the Arts and toward citizenship and political action. They confront The Human Condition in all of its objectifiable aspects. Their outcomes are publicly testable which is the essence of all methodological inquiry. But the Humanities can only be effectively pursued disinterestedly, without bias, program or intent for preordained consequences. Art engaged, must surprise us with new vistas.

The Panel recognizes that the American High School functions in an extraordinarily wide range of communities from the isolated, small rural village where the school is the major focus for an adult group life to the urban, multi-thousand student labyrinth paradoxically isolated from the rich variety of other institutions such as museums, orchestras, social agencies, theatres, etc. Resources vary, facilities and distances in time and space for transportation range from the plentiful to the non-existent. Boards of Education and their relations with other general government agencies and political forces differ greatly. All these and more caution against the assumption that any single recommendation, or all taken together, is suited to every school district and region of this Nation.

5. Technics, or Career Education, in contrast to the Humanities, represents all of the domains of "applied knowledge." They are concerned with the Arts and the technologies and processes of production and service. They represent the engineering functions, the putting to humane use the results of dis-interested inquiry (of pure science, of synthetic analysis) to the ends that the "quality of life", however defined, might be improved at minimum perceived cost to the external and internal environments of

individuals and their communities. Technics (careers) deal with doing, with matters of practice and are, in consequence, profoundly moral undertakings. A bridge, a sewer system, a new way of making paper, or of transporting goods and people, and of providing desired or needed services, have consequences, not all of them desirable, and these consequences must be assessed and accepted or rejected in the political arena. For, finally, Technics have to do with divisions of labor within the polity, with jobs which are recompensed with money and status and leisure.

The foregoing five domains are, obviously, curricula areas. The Panel suggests that they be considered in their philosophical context first in order to face the central questions of schooling and education which have to do with questions about the kind of society we wish to live in, how it is achieved, how it is evaluated, modified, improved and sustained.

We in the U.S. have sought comprehensiveness in education and believed we could get it all into one building. Accordingly, an abbreviated preview of the Panel's recommendations, which are extended and detailed in the subsequent chapters, follows:

(a) Make comprehensive education not the comprehensive high school the instrumentality for youth's passage into adulthood.

(b) Plan and seek to create with disciplined deliberateness, series of programs and organizations that will move the education of adolescents into the community in association with adults reciprocally with the school.

(c) Toward this purpose, encourage and support programs to enhance voluntary participation of youth in social and governmental agencies. The program of the National Association of Secondary School Principals called Action-Learning has at its core the recognition that community participation by youth is a vital ingredient in learning. The present administration's enhancement of voluntary participation through its Volunteers in Action should be expanded to serve as a model for involving adolescents. But the program's goals must be modest, testable and modifyable as new needs require.

(d) Moving youth in and out of high school on part-time, full-time and intermittent schedules creates the need for coordinating organizations discharging the responsibility we usually subsume under the term, in loco parentis. This kind of organization would coordinate the movement of adolescents through time and space into relationships with the organizations in which instruction and planned learning take place. It would function to guide that movement (or arrange for such guidance). It would maintain prudential concern for where students are during their "school" hours and be concerned with the evaluation of learning. But rather than having the task of teaching, of being the educational delivery service, its function would be the arranging for delivery of service: scheduling, evaluating, registering, monitoring, and continuously communicating information on adolescent education to their students, their teachers, and the public. (National Assessment is a module for such an organization--but more functions than N.A. provides must be included in the new organization.)

(e) Real-jobs-with-real-work-for-youth is a basic recommendation of the Panel. Training for jobs will not provide jobs. Career

Education has made a necessary if modest contribution in emphasizing that job-knowledge, on-the-job training, and occupational citizenship and job placement are neglected and needed services for youth. The Panel questions the parochial emphasis of traditional vocational education upon training with too little regard to the ecology of the job market.

(f) The arts in education and education in the arts for youth should be made a community enterprise for all adults. The schools' theaters and music facilities should be opened to the community. The arts as a basic measure of the quality of the life of a society cannot be left to a peripheral and avoidable elective. We propose that the model of a National Council on the Arts be adapted and adopted by each appropriate local community to finance, stimulate and honor the arts and the artists of all ages so as to reconnect art experience with life experience.

(g) We urge that education for the transition of youth into citizenship be moved in large part into the community through youth's regular involvement in social, political and governmental agencies. In addition, schools themselves must be collateral training places for such immediate participation in society. Student participation with faculty and administration in the affairs of the school that affect students should not be a governance charade under adult sufferance. New models of responsibility-taking by youth are imperative. If we manage schools by fiat, we train citizens in docility, revolt or indifferent submission. The goal is self-hood and active citizenship which cannot be served or reached by persons unengaged in the conduct of their lives. A self-governing republic requires much of its members. They must be willing and able to serve themselves and their Commonwealth.

(h) There must be a careful removal of some ancillary functions and services that are not centrally educative and supportive of the high school's mission. We must create functional descriptions of literacy and test for such performance. Charge the schools with teaching all citizens how to "read" the press, the periodicals, the radio, the cinema, television and each other. Education

> through the media is at least as powerfully formative of attitudes as formal schooling and may be more decisive in setting values, tastes, public behavior standards, and the consumer habits of the economy.

The goals of comprehensive education cannot all be achieved inside schools. The responsibilities for comprehensive education cannot be placed upon schools alone. If the school is to be relieved of the sense of responsibility of solving most, if not all of the social ills and problems of the country, then it must find ways of sharing the time of students with other delivery systems.

Implied above is that in the process of creating comprehensive education, our prudential concern for the welfare of students cannot be allowed to fall by the wayside. We have mechanisms and even some limited experience for oversight of high school students moving between the school itself to other agencies. The extrapolation of these experiences onto a much larger scale of operations is possible and desirable.

The above also implies that educational governance cannot be limited to governing schools. It must, for example, include the capacity of educators and their students to contract for educational delivery services with the full range of related functions needed to discharge its responsibilities.

It implies that the financing of the school for its delivery services should be separated from financing the opration of monitoring and controlling the students' movements (its prudential resonsibility).

It implies distinguishing compulsory education from compulsory schooling and both from fiscal support and guarantees of educational services.

A term used by H. M. Kallen a quarter of a century ago might be useful as we consider what organizing principles are required to provide the governance of adolescent education at the local level (which is the only level at which it can be effective and comprehensible.) The term is "orchestration." This implies that there is a score (a program, a set of purposes) that is known and mutually accepted by the "musicians" each of whose repertoire is willingly coordinated and employed toward publicly and mutually accepted goals. The resulting "symphonic sound" expresses the life of the "orchestral" community.

The Panel's recommendations for the reform of governance of education at the local level involve appropriate participation of community and institutional representatives. This is admittedly an unexceptional recommendation. This would include parents, teachers, students, significant community representatives, and provision for continual appropriate communication among all agencies and institutions concerned to any degree with the education of adolescents. How this reform is to be accomplished while at the same time preserving the integrity of the processes of education and the soundest elements in the existing institutions requires some comments first, on innovators and "change-agents."

The Panel insists, despite the disclaimers of some social scientists, that "education is the sovereign engine of democracy", that schools do make a difference in the quality of our lives and in the quantity of our goods. Therefore, the governance of the institutions of education, and most especially those devised to instruct and induct our youth into the adult affairs of this Nation, must be constructed and refined so that none shall be denied, none shall be wholly lost to himself or to the world.

The Panel believes that good governance is more than good management, more than efficient administration, more even than participatory democracy. Good governance is the overt conduct of the affairs of institutions toward collective, collaborative and individual goals that are publicly valuable and personally enriching for all members, participants and clients of those institutions.

Good governance requires especially that schools and all other people-helping agencies and institutions are openly explicit about their goals and the ways they seek to reach those goals. The stewardship of those institutions is thus always open for public scrutiny, and maintains an on-line accounting of their achievement and their needs. A school, or other educating agency or institution so governed would, as a matter of course, have a Zero-Reject policy toward its clients. It would be able to exercise at no diminution to anyone's opportunities of successes, a policy of "positive discrimination" where individual needs indicate that heroic educational efforts are required to overcome or contain an individual lack or limit or loss.

It is probably impossible, as it is certainly undesirable for the governance of the institutions of adolescent education to be conducted on the line-staff organizing principle with some single place and person where "the buck stops." There are more appropriate "process-models" where function, purpose and resources dictate the way decisions are sought and achieved, where policy and program are emergent products of continuous public inquiry about the purpose of the undertaking. This does not imply that the Panel would reject all bureaucracy, but rather that the essential bureaucrats would always be alive to and responsive to the needs of their clients and constituents.

Good governance requires effective internal and external reporting of needs, intentions and performance. It requires on-line accounting and assessment and the resources to communicate state-of-the-institution information to all concerned publics and agencies. It must, within the bounds of privacy,be able and willing to display its performance data to all who have legitimate need to know. Such requirements would assure that both the credentialling and accounting processes would be continuously and publicly tested against the asserted goals and purposes of the institution.

Thus, the diplomas and certificates of student achievement would become dependable testimonials to the achievements of the students and to the educative performance of the school. The employers and the admissions officers of post-secondary schools and agencies would receive accurate and dependable data upon which to base work and study assignments.

None of the foregoing assumes total replacement of existing tests and assessment instruments, although eventually most would be modified. It does suggest the need to construct collateral (and sometimes substitute) instruments to discover and describe talents and capabilities of students. Far more important, however, in attempting to deal with problems of institutional governance is to recognize the reciprocal relationship between that problem and the social purposes of the institution. Further, that those purposes need to be construed in terms of the new data from molecular biology and from the studies of primate comportment. These data appear to support and to reenforce the hunches and insights of those educators who are arguing for and experimenting with mini-schools, play-centered learning, and the contracting and shifting to much earlier years much that is now spread throughout the high school years.

Contrary to the naive courage of progressive educators a half century ago, the Panel knows the answer to their earlier question: "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" The schools cannot clean our environment, assure humane and generous housing for all families, rationalize problems of mass transportation, shift national priorities toward domestic tranquillity. For in this sense, the schools (like all other social institutions (churches, courts, nuclear families, media, etc.) are indeed marginal. But as noted earlier, the Panel believes that the school is a saving margin. The technologically advanced countries are becoming what Robert Hutchin's cogent phrase, "Learning Societies," suggests. The data are accumulating from the human and behavioral sciences, from communication theorists, from the new biology and anthropology, and from an ever-widening circle of those concerned with the centrality of values in human affairs. Education has made positive differences in the quality of the life most Americans live. Education, often formal, has led to the rediscovery of poverty, discrimination because of race, status and sex. We are less afraid today and less embarrassed than our near predecessors were to consider what the good society should be and how it might be attained.

We are more at ease with ambiguities, with differences, and in spite of the seeming successes of moon landings, planetary exploration, the "conquests of diseases" and the peripheral control of atomic energy; we are willing and eager to consider how a human life might be lived so that no one is diminished by any one else's success.

The Panel is aware that it has not created a schematic for the reconstruction or replacement of all of the institutions of adolescent education. It has not achieved any great and cogent illuminations about the reordering of education. It remains reservedly impressed that our educational institutions at all levels succeed as well as they do (with some egregious exceptions) to the general profit of our commonwealth.

The Panel is mindful that we as a Nation could be at a juncture where some central, though modest social gains, some alterations in the way citizens regard one another, some clearer, cleaner mode of communication amongst ourselves and thence to the governments we not always maintain wisely, could lead to the conscious and continual reconstruction of our essential social institutions. That would be good ecology--and better school keeping.

In the following chapters, the Panel's staff has summarized the results of its 16 months of discussion, the testimony of a score of expert witnesses from government, industry, education and its allied professions. Finally, these summary chapters contain, hopefully, the valuable substance of the some twenty-four commissioned papers that range across those issues and problem areas that, in the Panel's judgment, bear upon the education of adolescents and the way they live today.

Background Papers

for

The National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education

1. A Demographic Profile of Adolescents 12 to 18 Years Old
   David Roy
   Department of Human Development & Family Studies
   Cornell University
   Ithaca, New York

2. Citizenship as the Aim of the Social Studies
   Arthur W. Foshay
   assisted by William W. Burton
   Teachers College
   Columbia University
   New York, New York

3. Clockwork Apple or B.F. Skinner's Revenge
   Peter Grunwald
   High School Student Information Center
   Washington, D. C.

4. Current and Possible Roles of Technology in Education
   Milton S. Katz
   MITRE Corporation
   McLean, Virginia

5. Experiential Education
   Lance Dublin
   High School Student Information Center
   Washington, D. C.

6. New Directions in Youth Employment: An Analysis
   Donald M. Levine
   Teachers College
   Columbia University
   New York, New York

7. Options in Public Education: The Alternative Public School Movement
   Robert D. Barr
   Vernon H. Smith
   Educational Alternatives Project
   School of Education
   Indiana University
   Bloomington, Indiana

8. Physical Development of 12 to 18 Year Olds
   David Roy
   Department of Human Development & Family Studies
   Cornell University
   Ithaca, New York

9. Plenary School Evaluation: An Internal Evaluation System of American Secondary Schools
   John Stanavage
   North Central Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges
   Chicago, Illinois

10. Politics of Education
   Laurence Iannaccone
   School of Administration
   University of California at Riverside
   Riverside, California

11. Present Status of American Institutions of Secondary Education
   William H. Roe
   Christine LaConte
   School of Education
   University of Connecticut
   Storrs, Connecticut

12. Racial Inequality in Secondary Education
   Elvin Montgomery, Jr.
   New York City Headstart Program
   New York, New York

13. Schools...What For?
   Mary Wilson
   High School Student Information Center
   Washington, D. C.

14. Student Rights
   Mary Wilson
   High School Student Information Center
   Washington, D. C.

15. The Adolescent Student as a Social Animal
   Allan A. Glatthorn and Associates
   Graduate School of Education
   University of Pennsylvania
   Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

16. The Arts in the American High School: A Proposal
Maxine Greene
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

17. The Evaluation of U.S. Secondary Education
Michael Scriven
Evauation Consultant
Berkeley, California

18. The Job Market and the High School
Selma Mushkin
Public Services Laboratory
Georgetown University
Washington, D. C.

19. The Nature of the Adolescent Learning Process and Its Implications for Secondary School Curriculum
Sheldon White
Graduate School of Education
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

20. Vocational and Career Education: A Critique and Some New Directions
David Rogers
Graduate School of Business Administration
New York University
New York, New York

21. Youth, Learning and Values
Max Lerner
New York Post
New York, New York

22. Youth, Media and Education
Ronald E. Sutton
assisted by Nancy Yanofsky and Norma Higgins
National Association of Media Educators
Washington, D. C.

SPEAKERS TO THE NATIONAL PANEL ON HIGH SCHOOLS AND ADOLESCENT EDUCATION

Vivienne Anderson
"New York State's Activities in Arts and Humanities Education",
September, 1972
Director, Division of the Humanities and the Arts
New York State Department of Education
Albany, New York

Harold W. Arberg
Informal response to questions, September, 1972
Director, Arts and Humanities Program
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

Robert Binswanger
"The Status and Goals of the Experimental Schools Project",
April, 1972
Director, Experimental Schools
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.
Currently: Director, Experimental Schools
National Institute of Education
Washington, D. C.

Ivar Berg
"Credentialism and Jobs", May, 1972
Professor of Sociology
Graduate School of Business
Columbia University
New York, New York

Jules Cohn
"Manpower Training in the Private Sector", June, 1972
Professor of Political Science
City University of New York
New York, New York

Max Eninger
"Project Metro and a Manpower Conversion Approach to Vocational Education",
June, 1972
President, Educational Systems Research Institute
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Maxine Greene
"The Arts and Education", September, 1972
Professor of Philosophy and Education
Teachers College
Columbia University
New York, New York

Ronald Gross
"Radical Reform of High School Education", April, 1972
Vice President, Academy for Educational Development
Great Neck, New York

Floyd Johnson
"The Usefulness of the Arts in Society and in the Schools", September, 1972
Metropolitan Opera Singer, musician, New York City music teacher
Brooklyn, New York

Wallace Kennedy
"The Urban Arts Program", September, 1972
Project Administrator, Urban Arts Program
Minneapolis Public Schools
Minneapolis, Minnesota

John Kerr
"Educational Programs of the National Endowment for the Arts", September, 1972
Director of Education
National Endowment for the Arts
Washington, D. C.

Leonard Lecht
"Vocational Education - Its Effectiveness and Its Relations with Different Levels of Government", June, 1972
Director, Center for Priority Analysis
National Planning Association
Washington, D. C.

Laurence E. Lynn, Jr.
"HEW's Intent in Creating the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education", March, 1972
Assistant Secretary for Planning & Evaluation
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.
Currently: Assistant Secretary for Program Development & Budget
Department of Interior
Washington, D. C.

S. P. Marland, Jr.
"Introductory Statements", February, 1972
Commissioner of Education
Office of Education
Washington, D. C.
Currently: Assistant Secretary for Education
Department of Health, Education and Welfare
Washington, D. C.

Michael Moskow
"A Statistical and Descriptive Portrait of Adolescents in the Labor Force", May, 1972
Assistant Secretary for Policy, Evaluation and Research
Department of Labor
Washington, D. C.
Currently: Assistant Secretary for Policy Development & Research
Department of Housing & Urban Development
Washington, D. C.

Ernst Stromsdorfer
"A Cost Effective Look at Vocational Education", June, 1972
Associate Professor of Economics
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana

The following Panel members gave formal presentations to the group:

- Zahava Blum-Doering (April, 1972)
- Lloyd Michael (April, 1972)
- Selma Mushkin (May, 1972)
- David Rogers (November, 1972)
- Laurence Iannaccone (February, 1973)

The following non-Panel authors of background papers made oral presentations of their work:

- Sheldon White (December, 1972)
- David Roy (December, 1972)
- Elvin Montgomery, Jr. (December, 1972)

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CHAPTER 1

THE ADOLESCENT AS A FULL AND RESPONSIBLE MEMBER OF SOCIETY

In this chapter we begin by presenting evidence of the present more rapid maturity of adolescents in many areas of development. This more rapid maturity is the basis of our call for more mature treatment for adolescents by educational institutions. This evidence is compared with the traditional treatment of adolescents in schools, and then it is discussed in relation to the more recent development of the large, comprehensive, high school. We argue that this development has reinforced the treatment of adolescents as immature individuals. In conclusion, we suggest some ways in which change in the structure of adolescent educational institutions can create conditions which relate more closely to the increasing maturity of youth, and thereby increase their educational capabilities.

In essence, our position is that adolescence is a period of human development, and is therefore a time of competing needs. There is the need for preparation for the inevitable responsibility of adulthood, the room to experiment with life-style, the time to discover self. There is, as well, the need for the kind of challenging experiences which insure development rather than stagnation or mindless repetition. The Panel feels that education in the United States has emphasized the former to a point where it dominates the latter. In this chapter, the Panel calls for a redress of this imbalance and suggests several concrete ways through which this redress can be accomplished.

One of the frequent topics of discussion among Panel members was whether there was validity in individualizing instructional practices. These discussions resulted in a consensus that the solution might not be individualized instruction, but rather that youth be treated as unique persons with unique needs, and that these needs can and must be met through appropriate pedagogical means.

The Panel was largely in agreement that youth are treated as mere adolescents, a special category of persons, and that the laws governing the admission of youth into adult activities are an irrational accumulation based upon tradition, political whims, and concepts of adolescents as infants. For example, from state to state we have laws governing the age for marriage by sex, for voting, for owning property, for work by classification, for legal responsibility for crime, for drinking, for smoking, for attending school (which is compulsory) and for attending motion pictures (which is exclusionary). Adolescence is a period which is little respected by the adult population; a term frequently used, in a pejorative sense, is "adolescent behavior".

Even though this is the general situation of youth in our society, recent evidence from physiology and psychology suggests that the rationale for such attitudes towards adolescents should be re-examined. For a variety of reasons, including better nutritional, parental and medical care, and better housing, children in the United States are maturing faster. They are reaching adult size, shape and physiological functioning 2-1/2 to 3-1/2 years earlier than they did 100 years ago, 2 years earlier than their grandparents born at the turn of the 20th century. Yet, while youth are maturing faster, the average age at which young people assume most adult responsibilities seems to be pushed upward. Careers begin at a later date. There thus exists a situation where the physical maturity of adolescents gives them the capacity to engage in many activities on a par with adults. More adolescents seem to be choosing to exercise this capacity where they are allowed -- as in certain types of athletics (Olympics, etc.) -- as well as where society discourages them, as in sexual activity and the use of drugs.

Many writers[1, 2, 3] have commented upon the degree to which contemporary adolescents have many types of experiences much sooner than the adolescents of earlier generations. This seemingly premature sophistication contrasts sharply with the popular conception of adolescents. While the books which are avidly read by young people may not be those which the adults consider to be of the "best" quality, the subjects they deal with are certainly adult: witness the books of Kurt Vonnegut, Jr. and Joseph Heller. Many of the social activities which used to be highly popular in high schools, such as proms and other dances, seem to have found new popularity among younger students, while losing popularity among older youth. The consistently large number of children born to teenagers (779,000 in 1967 for women aged 15-19[4]) reflects a sophistication of experience, as does the large participation of youth in activities which manifest a concern for the general quality of life on the planet. Such activities include everything from walk-a-thons to hippie communes. This concern is reflected in public opinion polls which indicate that the Vietnam war, crime, violence and ecology (population growth as well as pollution) are major areas of concern among high school students[5]. Perhaps most significant is the fact that today's adolescents have proclaimed their own culture -- a youth culture or counterculture -- which they see as largely separate from and superior to that of adults. While one may question the extent to which this position is true, the self-conscious character of this culture is evidence of increased experiential maturity.

This adolescent sense of maturity is substantiated by recent psychological work. In his summary of the research in this area for the Panel, Sheldon White[6] contends that a large portion of the literature about adolescence treats this period as a cumulation or peak of development. This is true not only of research on physical, sexual and neurological development; the data on intelligence, problem-solving and cognitive and moral development report a peaking and leveling off in adolescence also. Many theories view adolescence as a final stage in progressive development. One theory[7] suggests that fluid intelligence (the ability to perceive complex relations, form concepts, etc.) tends to peak in adolescence and then gradually decrease, while the more concrete and culture-specific crystallized intelligence continues to develop into old age. Other theories[8] suggest that the stage of "formal operations" in cognitive development takes place in adolescence if it takes place at all. Finally, research has indicated that political socialization is related to cognitive development, as is moral development (Nadelson, Green, and O'Neil, 1969).

While these studies are not conclusive about the occurrence of emotional maturity, they cause one to doubt the prevailing wisdom that adolescents are not capable of a more stable, mature outlook on life than either society or the schools encourage.

In summary, youth find themselves in a position where they are maturing physically earlier, and engaging in more sophisticated experience with psychological capabilities which are frequently as great as they will be at any time in their lives. Indeed, adolescence is a time of special problems, such as a high rate of complications in pregnancy and childbirth, but these problems do not seem to justify the exclusionary treatment adolescents receive as an age group. For the 27,835,808 young people between the ages of 12 and 18, the contrast between their feelings about their own capabilities and their treatment in society is bound to create frustration in them.

The treatment adolescents receive in schools is similar to that which they receive in the rest of society; in fact, schools are one of the primary institutions for the age grouping of youth. For at least half of each working day, adolescents are physically isolated from the rest of the community in structures where they must remain by law. Within the structures themselves one finds the most comprehensive age-grouping ever developed in society. Although there are teachers and administrators in the schools who are from different age groups, they are engaged in activities fundamentally different from those of the students.

From the adolescents' point of view, life in school seems to be predicated on a judgment that they can't take care of themselves. This situation has come about for a variety of reasons, not the least of which is the general social treatment given adolescents described above.

The roots of the treatment of school children are historically traceable to the early public schools, which were based on strong discipline and respect for learning. They were also the preserve of very few adolescents, the majority having to work on farms or in factories. For the few fortunate enough to go to school, the strict discipline and rigid formalities of school were worth the effort because of the extensive advantages school gave them.

The transformation of a small number of public schools into many schools -- the development of mass education -- brought many changes, but remarkably few in the treatment given adolescents. If anything the expanded schools meant an even harsher environment for the student. As Kraushaar [9] observes, "with mass education came the trend toward the stereotyping of individuals, the professionalization of teaching, bureaucratic control, compulsory education laws, the prescription of minimal standards and the complex apparatus of accreditation, certification and credentialism" (p. 4). This was a situation in which authoritarianism pervaded the classroom in a manner similar to that of the workplace[10]. This similarity was observed in 1911 by Frederick Winslow Taylor[11], the inventor of the assembly line and the man after whom the movement of "Taylorization" in industry is named:

> "No schoolteacher would think of telling children in a general way to study a certain book or subject. It is practically universal to assign each day a definite lesson beginning on one specified page and line and ending on another; and the best progress is made ... when a definite study hour or period can be assigned in which the lesson must be learned. Most of us remain, through a great part of our lives, in this respect, grown-up children, and do our best only under pressure of a task of comparatively short duration."

The treatment of adolescents implied in this statement was definitely not an independent invention of malevolent school administrators. The public schools frequently functioned in loco parentis. The schools were responsible for students in much the same way parents were responsible. Consequences of this sense of responsibility included rigid attendance rules, locked doors, closed campuses, a fixed day, attendance by the period, by the room, six times a day; a required eating place; required clothing styles and hair styles. The situation was basically paternalistic. The teacher and the principal saw themselves as responsible for what went on in the school.

More than 60 years later much of this aspect of the school remains. The evidence that the students today are rejecting the continuation of this structure can be seen in the formation of student governments - a superficial exercise, false to the reality of the principals' and teachers' sense of responsibility. As a result, the more initiative taken by a student council, the greater the threat to the control that the principal and teachers have over what happens in the school.

Schools have had in the past, and continue to have, a custodial style largely because they are seen as custodial institutions by much of the general public. Adolescents are children who are to be kept off the streets and out of the labor market. Within the school the student is given limited options about how to spend his or her time, with little time for the kind of social peer experience that is strongly desired. A single pattern of behavior is rewarded -- that of academic excellence, the hallmark of which is more often obedience than independent thought. Perhaps most enervating is the system of rules and procedures which dominate in-school life, rules and procedures which the adolescent has seldom had an opportunity to participate in developing. Consequently, the rules appear in most instances to be externally imposed and therefore odious. In sum, schools are for many an alien environment, and learning takes place with difficulty in such a climate.

Indeed, the treatment of adolescents as dependents needing direction and guidance from supervising adults tends to maintain their lack of maturity. Yet precipitative removal of all constraints can lead to personal bewilderment and a sense of incompetence bordering on the traumatic. What seems clear is the fact that present secondary schools have unnecessarily prolonged modes of operation which have not kept pace with the maturation of our adolescent population. Keeping our youth in infant bondage destroys their capacity to assume responsibility for the consequences of their acts at an age appropriate to their physiological and psychological development.

In recent years the effects of this historical treatment and the corresponding perceptions of the function of the school have been exacerbated by the development of larger and larger school units. The trend towards consolidation has created a situation where there are now one-quarter as many school districts as there were in the 1920's. (Between 1967-71 the total number of public school districts decreased from 20,404 to 16,838 (Statistics of Public Schools, 1971 [p. 3.]). In 1968 more than 55% of secondary school students were enrolled in schools with more than 1,000 students. This trend towards consolidation has had benefits, but it has also caused undesirable side-effects. Many of these are what we refer to as "big school problems".

Larger and larger schools have come about partly as a reflex response to the spurt of population growth in certain areas. This reflex, combined with a cultural value system which stresses that "bigness is goodness", created a tendency to choose bigness regularly. This process was given the "stamp of approval" in James Conant's The American High School Today[12]. Conant's comments about size stress minimum numbers rather than maximums. However, the thrust of many of his other recommendations (which call for expanded programs) seem to be predicated upon increased size: the bigger the better.

> "To my mind a widely comprehensive high school should as a minimum meet the following five criteria:
>
> 1. Provide instruction in calculus;

2. Provide instruction in a modern foreign language for four years;
3. Arrange the schedule so that a student may study in any one year English, mathematics, science, a foreign language, social studies, physical education, art or music;
4. Provide one or more advanced placement courses;
5. Have enough English teachers so that 'the average pupil load' is 120 or less. (I stand by my recommendation in The American High School Today that the student load should be no more than 100, as I make clear later.)"

As Turner and Thrasher[13] observe, Conant does not give any attention to the possibility that large schools might have negative consequences. Conant is not alone in being responsible for this situation: The President's Commission on National Goals[14] projected goals for high school curricula which added more support to the big school movement.

The basic rationale for the large high school was the notion of "comprehensiveness". In his introduction to Conant's book John Gardner explains:

> "The comprehensive high school is a peculiarly American phenomenon. It is called comprehensive because it offers, under one administration and under one roof (or series of roofs), secondary education for almost all the high school age children of one town or neighborhood. It is responsible for educating the boy who will be an atomic scientist and the girl who will marry at eighteen; the prospective captain of a ship and the future captain of industry ... It is responsible, in sum, for providing good and appropriate education, both academic and vocational, for all young people within a democratic environment which the American people believe serves the principles they cherish."

Conant himself entitled his second report, The Comprehensive High School[15].

The comprehensive high school was indeed seen as a unique "American invention" and its virtues extolled. In fact, Conant, Gardner and others in a position to influence educational policy argued that the comprehensive high school was the solution to the educational problems raised by Sputnik, the 1950's critics of education (Adm. Rickover[16], Bester[17], etc.) and the developing needs of society.

In 1973 it is clear that the comprehensive high school has not solved all the problems of adolescent education. Indeed, it seems likely that it has added to them. In order to see how this is so, one must look at the rationale behind the comprehensive school. There are three important elements we might call the financial, educational and social values of the comprehensive high school. The financial argument was simply that it would be cheaper: one large structure, with a higher pupil-teacher ratio (through large classes in some subjects) was cheaper than several small ones. The educational argument was that the large comprehensive school could provide a greater breadth of course offerings and would therefore meet both the different educational needs of the same students and the different needs of different students. The social argument was that the comprehensive school was a major element of the democracy of society, in two senses. First, it would have a democratizing effect on its students by exposing them to all social classes and strata; through exposure to them, students would be better able to live effectively in a pluralistic society. Second, it would provide "equal educational opportunity"; all would have an equal chance for good grades, and equal access to educational honors and achievement, since it all would be in the same school. We might call these two arguments the "egalitarian" assumption of the comprehensive high school.

The experience of the last few years has brought us to question this rationale. Evidence has mounted that the mere creation of the large, comprehensive school was not enough to accomplish its goals; the comprehensive high school is not naturally money-saving, broad and egalitarian.

In terms of the first argument, that the comprehensive school would save money, Turner and Thrasher present evidence which demonstrates that once above 1,000 students, the cost per pupil of the comprehensive high school declines little further, while there is much evidence (which we discuss later) that the educational effectiveness of such institutions decreases with size[18]. There is legitimate reason to believe that the huge stone and cement fortresses being built in central cities easily cost more than two or more smaller structures to serve the same number of students. The evidence has mounted, that as long as one continues to see education strictly as a process which goes on in a place called a classroom, which includes a small number of adolescents and one teacher for a strictly delineated amount of time (one period), increasing the teacher-pupil ratio is a very poor strategy to save money. Indeed, the increase in administrative personnel required by increasing school size often seems to increase the managing staff to student ratio without affecting the teacher to student ratio; thus, in order to save costs, even larger classes have to be instituted. In sum, the big school saves money only at the cost of a greatly-reduced educational effectiveness.

The second argument is that the comprehensive high school by its nature would provide a greater breadth of course offerings and thus meet the needs of all students. On this point, Turner and Thrasher comment:

> "While diversity of programs has been provided in many high schools, the prestige centers in the college preparatory offering. The relative lack of importance of other programs in the minds of parents, teachers and administrators acts as a pressure upon students to elect this course ... The time, money and effort is directed toward providing the college-bound course." [19]

True comprehensiveness would mean minimally an equal conceptual emphasis on all of the different offerings, but many school administrators recognized what was implicit in Conant's recommendations -- the important reason to be comprehensive was for the benefit of the college-bound student.

> "To many school authorities, the concept of a comprehensive high school is limited to comprehensiveness within the college prep offering. We might call them believers in limited comprehensiveness." [20]

What emerged was a rhetoric of broadness in a situation where students knew that it was the college prep material which was really "where it's at" in the eyes of school authorities and the adult world. This, combined with the apparent lack of value of vocational courses in terms of future work advantages, led to a situation where students took courses which were not part of the college prep program only when they had been convinced that they could not manage the material. Students took non-college bound courses not because they wanted to take them but because they would fail at the others.

In sum, the large comprehensive high school has failed to provide true breadth of courses, either because comprehensiveness is applied in only one area (college prep) or because the courses which were supposed to be there for student option were really only enrolled in because of a student's negative self-image.

This, of course, contradicts the third argument for the comprehensive school -- that by its very nature it was an egalitarian experience, and that the social effect of the school would be to reinforce democracy. In retrospect, this argument seems to be the weakest of the three.

The comprehensive school seems to emphasize the class and racial differences in society. Merely bringing all these elements under one roof and assuming that this will successfully counteract the effects of stratification in society is at best a naive assumption. In fact, the evidence is that the comprehensive high school serves to reinforce the class and race stratification of society. There is much evidence, for example, that school peer groups form along class lines; that inter-class and inter-race frictions are exacerbated by the large school. For the working class child, exposure to the life-style and opportunities of the middle class child within the school was as likely to reinforce feelings of personal doubt and antagonism as to help these feelings[21].

The reasons for this effect are clear when one examines the other aspect of the comprehensive school "egalitarian" assumption -- the notion that bringing all the students from the community into one building would insure them equal access to education and, with this equal access, the best students would "like cream, naturally rise to the top". In other words, the school would be the mechanism through which society would insure that the disadvantages of one generation would not be passed on to the next -- equal educational opportunity would insure equality in society.

The essential failure of the schools to provide this equal educational opportunity is the starting point of much of the recent social science controversy over education. The ground-breaking Coleman report, "Equality of Educational Opportunity"[22], makes the following comment:

> "Schools bring little influence to bear on a child's achievement that is independent of his background and general social context ... this very lack of an independent effect means that the inequalities imposed on children by their home, neighborhood and peer environment are carried along to become the inequalities with which they confront adult life at the end of school."

The schools, then, instead of providing a situation which allows equal access to what is socially desirable, emphasize the existing social arrangements. In the words of educator Theodore Sizer[23],

> "... academic achievement, as the profession and public now define it, correlates with income: the wealthier your parents are, the more likely you are to score high on tests. The schools, then, reinforce class structures; they legitimize, in an apparently objective manner, existing social arrangements."

In other words, the schools in general, instead of having an egalitarian effect upon society, perpetuate class divisions.

The comprehensive high school is a major part of this process. The typical comprehensive high school provides three streams, or tracks, which are major divisions of the curriculum -- the academic track, the vocational track, and the general track. Although the possibility of moving from one track to another exists, it is seldom exercised. The tracks themselves often function as dead-end options. Thus, even in the comprehensive high schools which have a real program in all three tracks, one finds a separation of the students, a "three track culture", in the school. As pointed out previously, in most schools only one of these cultures, the academic one, is given sufficient attention.

The tracking system in the comprehensive high schools has a noticeable anti-democratic effect in opposition to their rhetoric. This effect is felt particularly by minority students. Elvin Montgomery[24] points out that the assignment of students to a particular track is often based on their performance on achievement tests taken early in the educational career. Consequently, given the unequal attention given to the various tracks, students receive unequal opportunities to develop their potential. In Montgomery's view, this lack of opportunity occurs disproportionately with the lives of minority students, because the philosophy, training, skills and attitudes of most educational personnel are based on only one, ethnocentric cultural model of education, knowledge and society.

The comprehensive high school subverts the egalitarian intentions of its planners. Once more we find illustrated the adage that good intentions are not sufficient predictors of results. The school environment exacerbates the differences and difficulties between students from different socioeconomic and racial/ethnic backgrounds. In major ways, the school makes the lives of students with non-academic interests less rewarding and more difficult. In discussing the outcome of the tracking system for the Panel, William Roe[25] draws attention to the fact that about 50% of high school students are in the so-called "general" track, which prepares them neither to go to college nor to enter a job. Nearly 2.5 million students leave this three-track system each year without adequate preparation for careers, and ill-prepared to offer any productive skills to a prospective employer. When one takes account of the general lack of utility of high school vocational education, the picture of the comprehensive high school is dim indeed.

Big schools have other disadvantages as well. They have a tendency to be inhumane, bureaucratic, and unsuited to individual student needs.

It is only in the very big school, psychologists report, that one encounters the phenomenon of the "completely left out" student -- the student with an almost total absence of peer relationships [26].

There is evidence that the rise of the big comprehensive school has been accompanied by a rise in the alienation of students from their peers and their environment. Douglas Heath[27] discusses the following material from questionnaires given to entering freshmen at Haverford College, which illustrates the increased alienation of students. Over a 20-year period, students were half again more likely to feel they don't need to be a member of a crowd, twice as likely to feel that they would be happy living alone in the woods, and half as likely to feel that they are good mixers. These responses indicate a general trend away from "social" experiences in favor of more introverted activity.

Summarizing his findings, Heath concludes:

> "What has been the effect of such large, superbly equipped schools upon their students? First, there is remarkably little evidence that the alleged benefits of a large school ... make any noticeable contribution to any educational outcome ... Second, recent evidence suggests that the crucial educational determinants of a student's development are the humanistic climate or atmosphere of the school, the student's sense of participant involvement, and the student's identification with the purposes of the faculty. Thirdly, there seems to be an inverse relation between the school's size and any of these atmospheric and motivational determinants ... Fourth, in contrast to so much educational research which frequently produces contradictory results, the evidence about the psychological effect of a large school is impressively consistently negative."

In addition to all of the above reasons for doubting the desirability of the comprehensive high school, there is the problem of discipline. The Syracuse University Research Corporation, in its report entitled "Disruption in the Urban Public Secondary School"[28], concludes forcefully, "Larger schools have more problems". To substantiate their conclusion, they report the following results of a survey exploring disruptive activity: (after table 11, p. 59)

Enrollment of school:	Under 1000 n=68	1000-1999 n=367	2000 and over n=248
Having student boycott, walkout or strike	23%	30%	38%
Having student-teacher physical confrontation	27%	28%	33%
Having riots	7%	9%	15%
Having abnormal student unruliness	25%	32%	37%

It is clear from this study that the big school correlates with an increase of these occurrences. Given the fact that discipline has been a perennial concern of those responding to the Gallup polls on "How the Public Views Secondary Education"[29] a good case could be made for directing attention away from the large school as the solution to education's problems.

The conclusion is inescapable that the comprehensive high school has failed to fulfill its promise. The question remains whether the problem is one of implementation or conception -- what would a good comprehensive high school be like? Would it meet the needs of students? Weighing these two questions, the Panel feels that the flaws of the comprehensive high school are as much conceptual as implementational. There seems to be no way to build larger schools without having a geometric rise in requirements for administrative personnel. As long as schools are dominated by a college-prep mentality, then other curriculum areas will suffer from lack of attention and prestige, be they areas of artistic concentration or manual concentration. And as long as a rigid tracking system exists, a school can have no more than a surface veneer of internal democracy.

The solution is obviously not bigger schools. The negative effects are too overwhelming and obvious. Nor is the solution a system with more tracks to accommodate greater diversity; an increase of the number of tracks, without making it really possible for students to easily pass from one to another, would be even more detrimental than the present situation. The Panel feels that the solution lies in the direction of a structural and conceptual change in the schools which gets away from the notion that education can only go on in a classroom with disciplined students listening obediently to one teacher for a specific block of time. Each of the report's chapters explores a different direction for attempting to develop this new model of education. In the recommendations which follow, we chart some of the directions which schools and other educational institutions can follow if they hope to create an environment which is challenging to developing adolescents.

To summarize, our argument has been the following: adolescents are more mature in many ways than their society seems to give them credit for; schools in particular have a history of relating to adolescents as if they were not capable of making decisions about their own needs and how to achieve them; the development of the big comprehensive school has exacerbated the problem of schools as an alien environment for adolescents. In trying to overcome these difficulties, the Panel recommends the following:

Recommendations

1. Secondary schools need to adapt themselves to students who are maturing earlier in many ways. Most importantly, schools should reappraise those internal institutional structures and policies which are based on the assumption that 12 to 18 year olds are children and should be treated as such. The Panel here is suggesting a re-evaluation of dress codes, behavior codes and other rules which regulate the lives of students in school. A mature population should be able to handle many of these issues as individuals. Similarly, administrative procedures which demand lock-step processing and unquestioned obedience should be revised.

Schools should also undertake such pedagogical and academic adaptations as the earlier introduction of more sophisticated curriculum content and modes of presentation. Much success in recent years with the early introduction of language and math materials supports this position. Another alternative is the early introduction of the kinds of material usually reserved for the senior year "problems of democracy" course.

The Panel is suggesting throughout this report that the old notions of what is conducive to learning may have been too narrow and that the time has come for adolescents to be allowed to assume greater responsibility for constructing their own educational environment. We are not suggesting that all regulations, special provisions, etc. be removed from the schools. Indeed, the Panel is cognizant that adolescence is a period of development and adjustment, and clearly this requires recognition and policy adjustment. What the Panel is suggesting is that the notion that adolescents are fundamentally irresponsible should be re-examined, and policies should be changed to more accurately reflect the self-conception, concerns and abilities of adolescents themselves. Nonetheless, we feel that schools will certainly have the right to promulgate policies which maximize their education impact and which, through the setting of minimal standards, preserve an environment which is conducive to learning.

2. One policy which the Panel feels deserves immediate attention is in the area of legal statutes regarding the upper limit of compulsory school attendance. Trends toward earlier maturation bring into question the appropriateness of ages 16 and 18 as the ages for legal departure from high school and high school graduation, respectively. The Panel raises the question of the utility of the last year or two of high school if, in fact, terminal points of development have already been reached by age 15. In this light the Panel was interested in the results of the latest Gallup poll regarding "How the public views secondary education".[27] In answer to the question, "At what age should students be allowed to leave school?", there has been a significant shift in the response of professional educators.

This shift of the mode has been from "18 years" several years ago to "16 years" in the 1972 poll. While the Panel by no means recommends the immediate elimination of compulsory education laws, we do suggest their reconsideration in the light of the notion suggested above.

3. The Panel concludes that if adolescents are maturing earlier, there is reason to believe that many of them are interested in and capable of engaging in adult activities in the community long before high school graduation. Such activities might include more work experience, involvement in community help projects, or the chance to study at first hand a major industrial process in depth. Raising the social competence of students to deal with local concerns in the immediate neighborhood of the adolescents and their families might become one of the major goals of education.

4. The Panel took note of the assumption behind Conant's call for larger schools linking curricular diversity to the teacher-pupil ratio and the classroom setting. The Panel feels that the necessity for this linkeage has been reduced through, for example, the development of educational technology and packaged instructional materials which increase the key role of the materials in the learning process. The Panel, of course, has no illusions about the wonders of educational technology. What the Panel questions is the assumption that bigness _per se_ is necessary for curricular diversity. We feel that the desired diversity can be achieved in numerous other ways.

In contrast to the "bigness is goodness" mentality which accompanied the move to the comprehensive high school, the Panel suggests, "try smallness for a change". (In Britain, high schools with more than 500 students are considered too large.) An educational environment which combined a small facility with diversity in offerings and lots of choice among them would likely produce some good results. First, the greater opportunity for face-to-face relationships among students and teachers would tend to lessen the discipline problems in the schools, thus relieving one of the public's major concerns about education. Adolescents should be involved with younger children and with older adults as a regular, frequent and standard option. The vigor of adolescents coupled with the broader experience of the older adult may bring new vitality to the life of our communities. A sense of collegiality and engagement in a similar endeavor of inquiry could be more easily developed. There would be a noticeable absence of much of the bureaucracy and formalism which permeate the big school. The small school format would provide opportunity to redesign the relationship between schools and adolescents, and might well be a necessary precondition to creating an environment to which adolescents can relate as increasingly full and responsible members of society.

5. The Panel recommends the re-examination of policies which lead to unequal treatment of students. Those forms of tracking which "lock in" students to particular educational strata and therefore to particular life opportunities are examples of good intentions which have backfired. The Panel distinguishes between diversity imposed and diversity chosen. Such policies are as much a manifestation of a lack of respect for youth as are the petty dress regulations and

information-distribution regulations which students have rebelled against in many schools. Again, the Panel is not recommending the elimination of diversity in curriculum, but rather questioning the value of rigid diversity imposed upon students which reinforces racial and class discrimination, and which is based upon evaluation criteria which are suspect in many ways.

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CHAPTER 2

AN EDUCATIONAL CLIMATE WHICH HONORS AND RESPECTS DIFFERENCES AMONG ADOLESCENTS

The institutions of adolescent education should strive to create an educational environment which honors and respects differences. The traditional concept of American educational institutions suggests a highly diverse system. However, the basic organizational patterns of the secondary schools throughout the country are very similar. These similarities do not allow the flexibility necessary to accommodate the innumerable differences among adolescents. In this chapter, physiological, academic, sex, ethnic and class variations will be examined and related to the present system. The ways in which these differences clash with the system will be evaluated. Viable alternatives will be presented for the purpose of developing a system flexible enough to meet the needs of the students and society.

Between the ages of 11 and 17 the range of individual differences in physical structure and physiological functioning at any given chronological age is greater than at any other time in the human life span. The following data are taken from the Dorothy Eichorn study[1]. This longitudinal study showed an average difference between early- and late-maturing boys at age 15 of 8 inches and 30 pounds. Accompanying this size difference were group contrasts of relatively comparable magnitude in body build, strength, motor performance and coordination, reaction time, attractiveness of appearance as judged by adults and peers, leadership roles, self concepts and other aspects of personal and social behavior.

In a classroom of 15 year-olds the diversity of size and function, with related variation in interest patterns and skills, can span the range from middle childhood to adulthood. Also regional and socio-economic variations in the rates of maturity have been observed. Some individuals complete their adolescent transformation before others of the same age and sex have begun.

Although 14 is the modal for ninth-graders, a few pupils in a given class may be as young as 11 or 12 or as old as 17 or 18. By the same token, some 16 year-olds are only in seventh grade while others are in college, some in the full-time labor force and some married and even parents.

These facts have obvious implications for the present school system, and chronological age-grading becomes a progressively poorer index of physical and psychological status as children progress from infancy towards puberty.

In addition to the variation among adolescents of either sex, there are differences in the maturational rate of the two sexes. Among boys, for example, the normal range of age for the onset of pubic hair growth is 10-15 and for its completion 14-18. Testis growth may begin between 10 and 13.5-17. Some boys begin their height spurt at 10.5 and finish it by 13, while in others accelerated growth does not start until 16. In girls the normal range is as great or greater. Pubic hair growth may start any time between 8 and 14, breast development between 8 and 13 and height spurt between 9.5 and 14.5. Menarche may fall between 10 and 16.5.

Ninety-eight per cent of the maximum height for the average boy is reached by 17.5 The maximum height for the average girl is reached by 15.5. This two-year variation is also comparable for the earlier development of ovaries to testicular growth. Because of her earlier growth spurt the average girl is taller than the average boy from about 11-14 years and heavier from about 9 or 10 until 14.5. Of course late-maturing boys may be somewhat dwarfed by many girls for an even longer period.

There are even significant developmental differences at 5 years of age, when the formal educational process begins. Girls are frequently one year older than boys physiologically, and have more advanced verbal skills.

There also appear to be personality differences between early- and late-maturing boys and girls. Very early-maturing girls are the most out of step with the modal tendency. Their interests and appearance are well ahead of their age peers of both sexes. Peers and adults will relate to them differently. Some late-maturing boys may not be able to compete successfully until the time has passed when skills linked to size, endurance and coordination have considerable social pay-off.

Sheldon White's study[2] reveals that differences in the rate of adolescent learning ability can be as startling as the variance in physiological development. A whole segment of intelligence testing studies treats adolescence as a period of differentiation of abilities. In addition to the cross-sectional differences, the vertical differences in the high school classroom must be considered. In the first grade the difference is between knowing how to read a little and not knowing how to read at all. In the seventh grade, however, the children range from first grade reading ability to twelfth grade ability. As one continues up through the grades there exists a larger spread of attained achievement scores. Tests of those students already in tenth grade indicated reading and arithmetic scores ranging from second to beyond twelfth grade level, with 25% of these students scoring at or below 6th grade level in reading and 44% of those students scoring at or below 6th grade level in arithmetic.

Another important consideration in terms of adolescent differentiation is the ethnic composition of this country, which includes 7 million Americans of Italian descent, 4 million Americans of Polish descent, 5 million Mexican-Americans, 22-1/2 million Blacks, 400,000 Japanese-Americans and almost 800,000 native Indian-Americans.[3]

Certain of the differences between these groups will be discussed. It is important to point out that there may or may not be certain value judgments attributed to some of these differences. The point is not whether the differences are good or bad; the point is that there are significant differences.

Some of the white middle-class values that dominate the educational system are competitiveness, punctuality, hard work, cleanliness, postponement of gratification and polite, controlled behavior. Dominant cultures tend to suppress differences, and different value orientations are not rewarded. But some Indian groups reward personal integrity, individual autonomy and a demonstrated concern for community. There are strong family ties as well as flexible time requirements. Children are taught not to speak in the presence of adults and competitiveness is not a cultural pattern. Some Mexican-Americans have described themselves as emotionally responsive, idealistic, hardworking and with strong family ties.[4]

One important consideration regarding ethnic differences is language, which has such obvious implications for the educational system conducted in middle-class English. Out of a total public school population of 44 million, 2 million are Spanish-speaking. There are almost 200,000 American Indians of numerous tribes, each with their own language, and many of the country's 6 million native American Blacks speak a dialect of English.[5] This is especially noticeable in the deep South, and remnants of it can be heard in the North among those who have migrated from the South.

A striking difference between the black adolescent and his white peer is that 70% of all blacks live in the central city[6]. Eighty per cent of all Mexican-Americans live in urban areas also[7]. Sixty per cent of all black adolescents between the ages of 14 and 17 live with one parent[8], while 26% of the Mexican-American children under 18 are not living with either parent[9]. These adolescents do not share the experiences or expectations of their white peers or of school officials who are oriented towards a patriarchal family unit.

As well as ethnic differences there are major differences between the youth of the various social classes. Several studies suggest that social class differences may be more important than generational differences. The working-class boy is probably closer in his value system to his father than he is to his middle-class age-mate.

Glatthorn states that middle-class youth seem to place more emphasis on delayed gratification. Upper-middle- and middle-class adolescents seem more committed to the traditional middle-class definition of success.

The perceived lack of connection between school work and the type of success desired is most acute for the lower-class child. Low self-esteem in boys is related to social class: it is more difficult for lower-class boys to achieve feelings of self-esteem[10].

There are differences in the aspiration-expectation gap. Working-class youth tend to lower their aspirations when it comes to considering their expectations, related as well to academic aptitude. One of the main obstacles to opportunity as perceived by working-class boys is their lack of achievement at school.

Children of higher socioeconomic levels are the more popular as friends and enjoy a better reputation. Middle-class children are more likely to get higher grades, hold office and take an active part in extra-curricular activities. Lower-class students are less likely to belong to a youth organization, and in fact a fair number of children from poor families belong to no group at all[11].

As previously stated, the traditional concept of the American secondary educational institutions suggests a highly diverse system: each school system has its own unique approach to the business of providing education for its youth. The traditional concept also suggests pride in the doctrine of local responsibility and autonomy. There are over 16,000 different boards of education, and although each has a great deal of freedom in managing its local schools, the basic organizational and instructional pattern of secondary schools throughout the United States is startlingly similar.

One of the characteristics of this monolithic system is ethnocentrism of the white middle class and the desire that other groups of individuals become assimilated into the dominant white culture. This assimilation implies that the culture, values and norms, as represented by middle-class white children, are the majority values and thus the task for all minorities is to learn and practice the middle-class values.

This fundamental premise of assimilationist approaches to education has seldom been seriously questioned, even though many of the sources of our past and present assimilation dilemmas appear to stem from two fundamental fallacies about the American social and cultural situation. First is the notion that there is occurring and has occurred a proper melting pot effect in assimilating the culturally different; and second is the notion that American society should be and therefore is a homogeneous cultural system. Even here, contrary to many existing beliefs, assimilation has been more myth than fact[12].

American society has never been merely an extension of Western European society. On the contrary, as statistics show, America is composed of different people, different races with different views of living and learning.

Many standard educational practices are outgrowths of the ethnocentricity which has characterized the American educational system. One such manifestation is the culture-bound value system that determines what "knowledge" is and therefore what "learning" is all about. Knowledge acquired through the formal academic process is thought to be basically different from, and superior to, knowledge acquired and expressed through practical experience in living. Making use of one type of knowledge, students are not encouraged to make use of skills that have been learned outside of school, thus producing a split between education and life for many minority students[13], as well as a growing number of students from the dominant majority segment of the population.

Archaic, inadequate and biased material represents many groups in an unfavorable manner. Indians, blacks and Italians, for example, have consistently been misrepresented. The mass media have been as responsible for this as the school system.

Differences in racial and ethnic backgrounds are not the only basis for adolescent alienation from the present system. The working-class student is very often uncomfortable in the typical suburban secondary school. He often feels rejected by the adults in control and isolated from the larger teenage society. His skills are not rewarded and he feels cheated by a system which seems to have little relationship to the types of goals important to him. In many cases he may be a social isolate whose rejection by his peers constitutes an important obstacle to learning[14].

Another characteristic of the ethnically monolithic system is that minority parental and community resources are not used to any great extent. Deviant cultural patterns are not recognized and appreciated for their invididual merit.

Although the system is monolithic and has basically preferred to minimize adolescent differences, there are presently a number of methods used by the system to respond to certain differences. Age grading is one of the methods now used to respond to differences among 12-18 year-olds. Intra- and inter-sex differences in the time of adolescence raise important questions about the socialization practices of age-grading. Longitudinal studies show that the effects of both advantages and handicaps on self-perception and interpersonal attitudes can have long-lasting effects[15].

Putting students together solely on the basis of age from the beginning of the educational process may very well be related to the high rate of male failure in the system. From the very beginning males are asked to compete with more developed females. The age-grading system already puts approximately 50% of the students at a disadvantage that must be amplified as they progress through the system.

Another consequence of this age grading is that when students are held back, the physiological variations become even more pronounced. Also, the percentage of blacks enrolled in the modal grade for their age is lower than for whites, making those black students even more conspicuous and out of step. For example, 38% of enrolled black 16 year-old boys are one year below the modal grade, while only 19.4% of white 16 year-old boys are one year below their modal grade[16]. This addition of greater variation within each classroom of understandably resentful students can prove frustrating for both students and teachers.

Tracking is another one of the methods used by the educational system to relate to student differences. Tracking is a systematic assignment of students into distinct educational categories, each of which receives different inputs and is oriented towards different types of experiences and goals. Inputs tend to be unequal -- outcomes are likewise unequal. Despite good intentions, tracking for many minority students ends up being unequal. This is primarily due to the fact that the philosophy, training, skills and attitudes of most educational personnel are based on only one ethnocentric cultural model of education, knowledge and society. Deviations from this ethnocentric model are generally seen as negative and inferior.

Another consequence of the way the present system relates to differences is the negative effect on self-esteem. Racist attitudes, tracking and condescending teacher expectations are bound to have negative, possibly long-lasting effects on self-concept. Self-concept is achieved through social contacts with parents, peers and teachers, and the fact that it can be taught is of great importance in regard to the role of the educational institution. High self-esteem can have direct benefits not only for the individual but for the society in general.

The adolescent population of educational institutions is heterogeneous. Diverse learning options are a logical response to this fact. A greater variety of alternatives would appeal to the broad range of students and provide more choices.

Before discussing these many alternatives, there are some important considerations. Incorporated in this new system of truly diverse alternatives must be a new basis for differentiation on a more humanistic positive system. The pragmatic and value criteria of race, sex, age, ethnic background and religion, frequently used, are unacceptable measures of human differences. The educational institution must not continue to perpetuate the ills of society, and must develop the sensitivity to abolish practices of human differentiation that have negative consequences.

What steps should be taken to insure a more positive way of dealing with differences? These steps seem to be (a) to eliminate the negative consequences of the present system by ending internal practices which lead to discrimination, and (b) to develop increased self-esteem through a policy of honoring and respecting the social contributions of groups which have borne the brunt of social discrimination.

Although the educational institutions cannot be expected to end the discriminatory practices of the society as a whole, the termination of internal practices that perpetuate discrimination can make a valuable contribution. Such practices as tracking, sex and racial imbalance in staffing, and biased curriculum should be eliminated.

Also the educational institutions should be instrumental in developing a sense of self-esteem by honoring and respecting differences, especially those differences that in the past have been the target of discrimination. One way to do this is to make greater use of the resources of the minority parents and community. Also, cultural esteem and awareness can be developed by establishing alternative schools that have a racial, ethnic, bilingual or multicultural emphasis.

Another method would be to supplement the present reward system with a system to recognize achievement in non-academic areas such as office skills, artistic accomplishments, agricultural and mechanical skills. This might be accompanied by student planned and executed assemblies and projects which focus on the accomplishments of blacks, women, the trade union movement and other groups.

With an awareness of these special concerns in implementing this new system of true diversity, the various alternatives can be considered. One such alternative is mini-schools, which could be set up with distinct learning situations -- teacher-oriented, student-oriented or open. These mini-schools could specialize in anything from English to automobile mechanics and allow the schools to incorporate all levels of interest and ability in a productive educational system. Each of these mini-schools should be almost completely autonomous with its own staff, curriculum and territory.

A second alternative would be small alternative schools outside the present high school, such as career academies, technology centers and art centers. Free schools could be further developed and encouraged. Out in the community, these centers would broaden the horizons of both students and educators as to many learning situations available.

Alternatives to schooling as well as in schooling should be explored. As a third alternative adolescents should be encouraged to investigate and participate in work experiences, community service (i.e. in hospitals, mental institutions, etc.), local government and schools-without-walls.

A fourth alternative would involve extending the availability of each school's facilities to nights, weekends, summers and even during the school day to all youth and adults in education, recreational and other neighborhood activities. This would increase the options available, allow greater flexibility and provide new kinds of learning for educational credit.

To facilitate these alternatives to schooling it is important for the schools to have an open entrance-exit policy. Students would then be able to attend school on a part-time basis, work or volunteer their services in or out of school or attend two schools at one time.

An important element of this flexibility, important to effective alternatives, is the development of performance criteria. A student evaluation system should be established that emphasizes performance outcomes on social effectiveness, human relations and job performance as well as the application of knowledge, the recall of knowledge and college-bound academics.

Also in relation to increased flexibility, many of the structured requirements which so characterize the secondary education should be eliminated, reduced or made more flexible. These include the four-year graduation requirement, the nine-month school year, rigid academic requirements for graduation, semester-long classes, 40-60 minute periods, and Carnegie units.

These diverse learning options keyed to the special needs and interests of various students would have a marked effect on improving the relevance of the educational system, self-esteem, school attendance, drop-out prevention and the return of drop-outs to school.

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CHAPTER 3

PREPARATION OF ADOLESCENTS FOR FUTURE FAMILIAL ROLES

The uncertain condition of the American family has had its repercussions on the adolescent population. The idea that being a successful happy member of a family, as spouse or parent, is instinctive is having disastrous consequences. During 1970 there were 715,000 divorces in the United States[1]. Presently, the rate of divorce in the U.S. is the highest among all Western nations. Although the American divorce rate has varied over the past century, it has been consistently on the rise. Over the past decade there has been more than one divorce for every four marriage ceremonies[2].

This lack of successfully married adult role models for adolescents has contributed to a national divorce rate of those married in their teens which is 3-4 times that of any other age group. Equally disturbing statistics are that among girls 17 or under, approximately 210,000 gave birth in the U.S. last year, and that one in every ten 17 year-old girls is a mother and 16% of these girls have 2 children. Not only are many of these young mothers unsure about the fundamentals of infant care and child development, but they are actually unnertain about the biological process of conception[3].

The consequences to these child-bearing adolescents are long-ranged. Frequently the pregnant girl is forced out of school. Pregnancy is the major known cause of school dropouts in the U.S. Also, there is a significantly greater incidence of complications in pregnancy for teenage females. Additionally infants of teenage mothers are in the greatest jeopardy of all infants when general pregnancy complications, as well as prematurity, are correlated with the development of subsequent mental subnormality and multiple neurological difficulties[4].

Early child-bearing is associated with social handicapping, early marriage, unstable family life, repeated pregnancies and welfare dependency. This combination makes it easier to understand why 9% of teenage mothers attempt suicide, seven times the national percentage for teenage girls without children[5].

Not only the high rate of divorce but also the collapse of the extended family and the isolation of adolescents and other age groups from each other indicate serious trouble for the American family. Fathers frequently work long hours and in 1972 43.9% of the labor force were women. Up from 31.8% in 1947, these female members of the labor force are spending less time on their traditional familial roles[6].

> "The family whose break-up is thus heralded is the traditional monogamous and patriarchal family of Western civilization. Sociologists point out that this family, developed for the most part in a rural environment, has economic, educational and recreational functions which it has now relinquished to large business enterprises, schools and the mass entertainment industries. In just about all the historical civilisations and primitive societies with which we are acquainted, the family has been both the basic economic unit and the major educational agency for its youth. Having lost these functions, what will hold it together?"[7]

Who will assume/has assumed the responsibilities for family education?

> "There seems to be a set of human functions which are taught somewhere between the school and the family, most likely in the peer group. These may include sex education, interpersonal relations, religious and moral values. The education of these topics seems to have moved out of the family's realm in many cases and the consequences to the development of the child is difficult to interpret.
>
> > 'It concerns the process of the child's entry into society. As the family contracted towards a nuclear core, as settlement and re-settlement, especially on the frontier, destroyed what remained of stable community relations, and constant mobility and instability kept new ties from strengthening rapidly, the once elaborate interpenetration of family and community dissolved. The borderline between them grew sharper; and the passage of the child from family to society lost its ease, its naturalness and became abrupt, deliberate, and decisive; open to question, concern, and decision. As a consequence of such a translation into the world, the individual acquired an insulation of consciousness which kept him from naked contact and immediate involvement with the social world about him; it heightened his sense of separateness. It shifted the perspective in which he viewed society; he saw it from without rather than from within; from an unfixed position not organically or unalterably secured. The community, and particularly the embodiment of its coercive power, the state, tended to be seen as external, factitious. It did not command his automatic involvement.'
> > (Bailyn, 1960, p.25-26)
>
> The peer group may be picking up where the family left off and the schools did not pick up. This is not to suggest that the school should attempt to take on the training that the peer groups are presently doing. Adolescent education is much larger than the schools and probably will and should remain so."[8]

If the schools do choose to include parenthood/family education in their curriculum, there may be certain problems relating to teacher effectiveness. Also, it would seem important to emphasize that there are a number of successful alternative family patterns and that the individual needs of each person must be considered. Also it seems important at a time of great stress on the institution of marriage that adolescents should be encouraged to evaluate both the advantages and disadvantages of the institution. Parenthood should be approached with equal caution in a time of the threat of over-population. The social stigma against being unmarried, or married couples who choose not to have children, should be discussed and every attempt made to minimize it.

The Panel was in agreement as to the importance of adequate preparation for this aspect of adult roles, but uncertain as to the best course of action.

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CHAPTER 4

INSTITUTIONS OF ADOLESCENT EDUCATION AND HOW THEY RELATE TO THE PROBLEM OF INTEGRATION INTO THE BROADER COMMUNITY

Of the 27,835,808 twelve to 18 year-olds (13.7% of the total U.S. population) reported in the 1970 census, nearly 98.9% of 12 to 15 year-olds, 94.0% of 16 year-olds, 86.2% of 17 year-olds and 55.0% of 18 year-olds were enrolled in school in October 1971*. Recent high school graduation and retention rates are also high. In 1968 the high school graduates totalled 78.4% of 17 year-olds, while the 1970-71 graduating class represented 78.9% of the class that entered the 9th grade in 1967. It has not always been so, however. In 1899-1900, 3.5% of 17 year-olds were high school graduates, and in 1939-40 that percentage was only 50.8.

Thus, today, more adolescents are spending more time in school than at any other time in history. Although Americans are justifiably proud of the democratization of educational opportunities which our public education system has provided during this century, the school-enrollment process has also resulted in a relatively new phenomenon -- the isolation of youth from adults and adult experiences. Being in a high school now means not being involved in a variety of experiences, activities and institutions to which large numbers of previous generations of adolescents were exposed. Formal schooling has come to dominate the "adolescent experience" in the U.S.

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*Enrollment figures of the civilian non-institutionalized population.

One need not advocate a "school-of-hard-knocks" philosophy or overlook the importance of academic and cognitive knowledge and skills in our society to feel that there is much of importance to be learned outside the secondary school classroom. Adolescents need to learn what it means to be a functioning member of contemporary American society. This may be especially important for the increasing numbers of youth who are completing their physical, and quite probably intellectual and emotional, development earlier. The efforts, usually begun during the adolescent years, at determining life-styles, careers and world-views seem to be improved by exposure to and experimentation with various ways of assuming and relating to "adult" roles and responsibilities. In a society where social roles are increasingly fluid and diverse and where change is becoming the only constant, increasing one's flexibility by broadening one's range of experiences seems highly desirable.

Out-of-school learning experiences seem to have a great deal of potential for individual cognitive and affective development, although empirical data in this area is limited. John Dewey asserted that learning depends on experience, with the learning which takes place closest (in physical proximity or relevancy) to a situation of immediate concern to the learner being most effectively accomplished. Several case studies suggest that at least some students learn such traditional high school subjects as math, language skills, and social studies as well, in work experience projects as in the classroom.

In addition, learning from and in the community can supplement, integrate and substantiate scholastic knowledge by enabling it to be utilized or tested. Such benefits are in no way limited to non-academically-oriented youth. Self-reliance, personal responsibility, confidence in one's own judgment and effective action skills have to be practiced to be achieved; they cannot adequately be learned from print or from the passive, waiting-to-be-taught nature of the student's role. In this society, for instance, having a job and earning one's own money is often a very definite source of independence, while being shielded from responsibility and productive work frequently results in irresponsible and unproductive behavior[1]. Opportunities to actively participate in, rather than merely observe, activities enable youth to utilize and test their developing competencies, and encourage them to evaluate themselves, their performances, their skills and even their sense of the world. By increasing the knowledge of one's strengths and weaknesses, such experiences and evaluations expand an adolescent's understanding of himself.

No single institution, including the high school, can provide the diversity of experiences necessary to adequately meet the widely varying abilities, needs, interests, aspirations and learning styles of 12 to 18 year-olds. Only the wider community, reflecting the diversities of the general population (although with cultural limitations), has the flexibility and human and material resources to provide learning situations diverse in both content and style. Research indicates that self-confidence and optimism appear to be predictors of later personal and employment success. One study concludes that young people who have experienced repeated failure in previous schooling and work attempts need to achieve some successes to allow the development of the optimism and self-confidence necessary to undertake efforts at improving their skills[2]. Community involvement opportunities - a part-time job, an internship, artistic performance - appear to offer a much greater variety of possibilities for successful experiences than the traditional high school. There is no guarantee that such a non-school experience will be positive rather than merely neutral or even negative for self-development. It is clear, however, that the secondary school, by offering a limited number of sanctioned learnings and experiences, has detrimental effects on the education of many adolescents.

Involvement of adolescents in various community activities - whether it be through working, investigating local social problems or utilizing community information facilities - can place youth in meaningful contact with people of a much wider variety of ages, interests, backgrounds and professions than can be found in the high school. Such interactions outside the paternalistic child/adult relationships in the schools can lead to the development and/or refinement of skills in human relations, as well as to a clearer perception of one's place in and relationship to the society as a whole. The benefits of such contacts and interactions do not accrue only to adolescents, however. The inclusion of adolescents in activities outside the school enables the community, as a whole and as individuals, to become much more actively involved in the education of their youth. Being involved in another's education -- through personal contact rather than just tax dollars -- creates a learning experience in itself. Hopefully, an increase in substantive interactions between adolescents and older people will weaken mutual stereotypes and enable everyone to be seen as a teacher of some kinds of knowledge and a learner of others.

The present secondary education system does not significantly encourage adolescents to receive some of their education outside the school building and, in fact, frequently hinders the process. Work-study programs, where they exist, are usually small, employment-oriented and considered an option only for non-academic students. Rules and regulations, and occasionally laws, often attempt to confine students to the school grounds or the presence of a certified teacher. Class schedulings, homework assignments and other school practices limit the opportunities a young person may have to hold a part-time job or do volunteer work. Actually, many adolescents do work for some period of time during their high school years (60% in one Labor Department study), but secondary school personnel seldom contribute to the job-finding process, are frequently unaware of such student employment, and rarely accommodate a student's academic program to his employment schedule or recognize or "certify" the learnings achieved in the work place.

The schools, originally intended to develop intellectual skills, have come to be seen as the providers of all a young person's educational experiences. Compulsory education laws require youth to attend school until the age of 16*, and social pressure is exerted for them to remain there until graduation, at approximately age 18. "Dropping out" of school (to do something else) is not regarded as the exercise of an option but as the indication of an individual's failure. The schools, of course, did not assume such an overwhelming responsibility for adolescents all at once or simply on their own initiative. Such factors as the fragmentation of the nuclear family, the separation of residential and business areas, occupational mobility, child labor laws, the decline of the apprentice system, and the working mother have often joined with the American faith in formal education to isolate youth from the rest of society by concentrating them for longer periods of time in the schools[3].

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*In several states education is required until ages 17 and 18.

Regardless of its causation, the segregation of young people from other age groups can have serious consequences. The White House Conference on Children reported to the President in 1970 that:

> "A decrease in opportunities for meaningful contact between children and persons older, or younger, than themselves is disturbing because the isolation of children from adults simultaneously threatens the growth of the individual and the survival of the society. Child rearing is not something children can do for themselves. It is primarily through observing, playing and working with others older and younger than himself that a child discovers both what he can do and who he can become -- that he develops both his ability and identify. It is primarily through exposure and interaction with adults and children of different ages that a child acquires new interests and skills and learns the meaning of tolerance, cooperation and compassion. Hence, to relegate children to a world of their own is to deprive them of their humanity, and ourselves as well."[4]

Such ill effects would appear to be strengthened by the evolution of an adolescent society isolated from substantial relationships with older adults and younger children.

Age segregation has resulted in a much greater association of youth with their age peers, and thus has significantly increased the influence of the peer group dynamic on American adolescents. These groups provide only a transitional structure between the family group and the larger society. They assist in the development of a heterosexual role; provide feedback about behavior; afford a means of understanding self and others; help adolescents adapt to new roles and relationships; provide job information; provide a highly personal and emotionally important form of guidance, which includes sympathy, support, and help in meeting peer and/or social expectations. The peer groups also play a critical but not uniformly determining role in the shaping of values. These age-segregated peer groups have become a major educational force in the lives of adolescents. Their lack of generational stability and their narrow age-base, however, make them subject to rapidity of change in the activities and personal styles they endorse. Although such groups have generally reinforced rather than opposed adult values, there is some feeling that such reinforcement is declining and will continue to do so as population mobility, the influence of the mass media, the isolation of youth from adults and its related phenomenon of peer group rootlessness increase. Adolescent peer groups are also a powerful factor in the tendency towards delinquent and antisocial behavior, have a particularly significant effect on determining the operating norms of classroom behavior, and have an important influence on individual self-esteem. The latter is particularly important because significant numbers of youth (11-22% in one study) are ignored by their peers or are otherwise seriously estranged from meaningful group involvement. Such peer-rejection can serve as an important obstacle to the development of self-esteem and to learning. In addition, since clique and crowd members are almost invariably of the same ethnic group and social class, strong group identification produces definite segregating tendencies in the age group.

As high schools came to house larger numbers of adolescents and larger percentages of the age group, they also became the major site of adolescent social relations and activities. Although the tendency to form peer groupings normally increases with the size of a "community", schools have not usually dealt constructively with the expanding numbers and centrality of adolescent peer groups nor tried to utilize their positive aspects for educational purposes. Instead, schools and teachers have frequently interfered with the functioning of these groups, often trying to break them up or reduce their influence. Such efforts have often had the undesirable consequences of increasing the number of isolates (especially in large schools) and of reducing large, fairly diverse peer arrangements to small, ethnocentric, highly segregated groups.[5]

The concentration of increasing numbers of youth in the secondary school and the concomitant decline in adolescent exposure to other institutions coincided with a rising American faith in education as the cure for society's ills. In response to these trends, the high school gradually became an educational conglomerate, absorbing such tasks as vocational preparation, sex education, driver's training, drug counseling, etc. into its academic framework. Although an effective adolescent educational system should offer such varied types of learning, the assumption that the institution of the high school can be expanded to incorporate all educational functions has to be seriously questioned. A truly "comprehensive" high school has rarely, if ever, been achieved. In addition, "the school, when it has tried to teach non-intellective things, does so in the only way it knows how, the way designed to teach intellective capabilities: through a teacher, transmitting cognitive skills and knowledge, in a classroom, to students."[6] At the same time, secondary schools have been criticised for diluting their efforts to the extent that many students' cognitive skills are poorly developed.

In sum, despite the numerous types of learning that can and frequently must take place in the community or the "real world", the only sanctioned educational experiences of most 12 to 18 year-olds are those which occur in the secondary school classroom. This equating of formal schooling with education is not only functionally inaccurate but often damaging to individual development. Although empirical data on the specific results of various non-academic experiences is lacking, the problems stemming from the conventional secondary school's inability to be all things to all adolescents are clear enough to warrant designing alternative educational approaches. Thus the Panel recommends that the U.S. adolescent education system actively integrate youth into the broader community by providing a wide variety of our-of-school or "experienced-based" learning opportunities.

The range of viable out-of-school learning experiences for adolescents is virtually limitless. Valuable and varied learning can occur in regular part-time or full-time jobs; community service activities in hospitals, schools, old age homes, mental institutions, environmental action groups, etc.; "school-without-walls" programs which encourage young people to decide what they want to learn and to draw on the knowledge and resources of individuals and institutions in the community (banks, art galleries, courts, auxiliary police forces, etc.); internships in public agencies; apprenticeships; personal performance opportunities in drama, music, art, etc.; "action learning" in paid jobs or volunteer work with associated academic study; public action activities, perhaps as part of regular social studies classes, which investigate and work to reform local social injustices (e.g. assisting tenants to fight negligent landlords, aiding and advising youthful offenders); curriculum-based learning projects involving concrete experiences (field anthropology, office work, etc.); identification and programmatic structuring of experience-based learning opportunities for other youth.

Just as there are numerous non-academic experiences from which adolescents can achieve various cognitive, affective and manual learnings, there is no single administrative or structural model for the design of a community-based experience. Table I juxtaposes some of the different types of experience-based learning situations against a few of the various structural components of any such program. As an illustration, adolescents "A", "B" and "C" (see Table I) are involved in three different out-of-school learning situations.

Table I

MATRIX OF DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING SITUATIONS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

LEARNING SITUATIONS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS	Regular Jobs	Community Service Activities	Schools-Without-Walls	Internships in Public Agencies	Apprenticeships	Artistic Performance Opportunities	'Action Learning' (with associated academic study)	Public Action Activities	Curriculum-Based Learning Projects Involving Concrete Experiences	Structuring Experience-Based Learning Opportunities for Other Youth
1. PAYMENT										
a) No pay								C		
b) Partial or subsidized payment		B								
c) Full pay	A									
2. ADMINISTRATIVE SUPERVISION										
a) Full school supervision								C		
b) Joint institutional supervision		B								
c) Full supervision by non-school institution	A									
3. FUNDING SOURCE										
a) School								C		
b) Joint institutional funding		B								
c) Non-school institution	A									
4. ACADEMIC CREDIT										
a) Full credit								C		
b) Partial credit		B								
c) No credit	A									
5. AMOUNT OF PARTICIPANT INVOLVEMENT										
a) Part-time	A							C		
b) Full-time		B								
6. DEGREE OF PROGRAM AUTONOMY										
a) Integrated with academic curriculum								C		
b) Related to academic curriculum		B								
c) Independent of academic curriculum	A									

Table I (cont.)

MATRIX OF DIFFERENT EXPERIENCE-BASED LEARNING SITUATIONS AND THEIR VARIOUS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS

LEARNING SITUATIONS STRUCTURAL COMPONENTS	Regular Jobs	Community Service Activities	Schools-Without-Walls	Internships in Public Agencies	Apprenticeships	Artistic Performance Opportunities	'Action Learning' (with associated academic study)	Public Action Activities	Curriculum-Based Learning Projects Involving Concrete Experiences	Structuring Experience-Based Learning Opportunities for Other Youth
7. PROGRAM CONTROL										
a) Student-controlled								C		
b) Joint student-adult controlled		B								
c) Adult-controlled	A									
8. PROGRAM IDENTIFICATION										
a) Participant identification with and responsibilities to the program itself								C		
b) Participant has no special status in the non-school setting which derives from the program	A	B								
9. PROGRAM PATTERNING										
a) A general program model								C		
b) Each experience individually negotiated	A	B								
10. CROSS-CULTURAL EMPHASIS										
a) Efforts to provide participant with such contacts		B								
b) No particular efforts	A							C		
11. PERSONAL REFLECTION OPPORTUNITIES										
a) Provision of opportunities for participant reflection on the experience and its relation to other learnings		B						C		
b) No conscious provision of such opportunities	A									

"A" has a part-time job in a local hardware store, which supervises him and pays him the standard wage. He found and negotiated the details of his job on his own, and is viewed by the store personnel as a regular employee rather than as a member of any particular program. The store management does not attempt to provide him with cross-cultural experiences or opportunities for reflection on his work and his education. "A"'s duties at the store are unrelated to any of his school studies, and he receives no academic credit for them.

"B", on the other hand, is engaged in a three-month project in the neighborhood health clinic. Supervised and funded jointly by the high school and the clinic, "B" worked out her particular duties with the clinic and feels no allegiance to any special program. She works full-time for the three-month period and is paid for her transportation expenses only. Her activities in the clinic's lab, for which she receives partial academic credit, were selected to supplement her science training. The clinic designed her duties to bring her into contact with people of many social classes and ethnic groups, and to allow her time to talk with staff members about what she is learning there and elsewhere.

Adolescent "C" participates part-time in a school-sponsored and funded public action program investigating inequities in the local juvenile court system. The program, designed and operated by interested students, is the action-oriented component of one of the high school social studies classes and receives full academic credit. All participants follow the same basic program model and function as a group in assigning, performing and discussing tasks. The school neither pays them nor stresses cross-cultural contacts, but does encourage the students to relate their findings about the legal system to other academic and non-academic experiences.

A wide selection of experience-based learning opportunities and programs in a given community appears much more capable than one or two conventional high schools of providing a variety of learnings for the varied adolescent population. Such programs are not without potential hazards, however. Decentralizing education, especially in different physical locations, could create the conditions for re-segregation. Although the comprehensive high school never really integrated youth from different backgrounds, the expansion of student and parent choices does increase the likelihood of students electing to be with others like themselves. The recent development of mini-courses and mini-schools has already given curricular recognition to adolescent sub-cultures, with many of the options revealing highly self-selective enrollments. A related problem is the possibility of the traditional high school becoming a "pauper school", composed of all those youth without the interest, capacity or information to choose some other option(s). To minimize possible detrimental effects, an adolescent education system should attempt to make each of its alternative institutions or learning opportunities as integrated (in terms of ethnic background, social class, age, etc.) as possible and should prevent such factors from being used as the basis of applicant admittance or exclusion.

For out-of-school learning opportunities to be most educationally significant for their participants, they have to be designed and operated as independent but integral parts of the total educational environment of adolescents. Thus, effective experience-based learning opportunities and programs must operate neither as a replacement for the existing high school nor as a mere adjunct to it. For community-oriented experiences to be viable components of the adolescent education system, the emphasis in their development should be on opening up alternative educational structurings and experiences, not on offering diversity for its own sake or as a substitute for structure in general. Such an approach is necessary if out-of-school learning experiences are to be more than game-playing or officially-sanctioned hooky.

Many students may need or want to retain a significant base (in terms of time, identification) in the existing high school. Many adolescents need a sense of identification with or belonging to a certain institution where they are able to meet and share experiences with their friends. In addition, secondary schools may be better able to mix youth of different social classes and ethnic groups than smaller alternative educational settings. With its historical emphasis on academic disciplines, the high school also appears better suited than other institutions to undertake the instruction of those areas of learning and developmental tasks which programmatically require rigor, sequencing, and precise measurement - math, science, grammar, etc. Other types of learning, however, appear to be better accomplished by learner initiation, direction and participation than by teacher dominance. Development in the arts and citizenship, for instance, seems enhanced when the professional's function shifts from a direct imparting of information to supporting and guiding the student's effort to find his own way. Sub-institutions physically or geographically separate from the school are necessary to meet those educational needs more successfully than is possible when school facilities and personnel are used for purposes for which they were not designed or trained. Separating these new and old functions from the existing high school will, of course, lead to a pruned and programmatically smaller institution. Although this process could result in the demise of the secondary school, as some fear, it is unlikely to do so. In addition to the school's cognitive development abilities, plant investment and the availability of unique and expensive facilities (gymnasia, science labs, classrooms, etc.) will make that institution's replacement wasteful and its continued use necessary for many years to come.

Since the high school will play an important, but not the only important, role in the education of U.S. adolescents, conceptual and operational adaptations by that institution will be necessary. Such existing structures and practices as the 4-year graduation requirement, the 9-10 month school year, rigid academic requirements for graduation, semester-long classes, 40-60 minute class periods, and Carnegie credit units need to be relaxed, if not eliminated, to enable community people to utilize school facilities and adolescents to engage in community learning situations. School personnel will have to be more responsive to youth's employment needs and requirements. In addition, adolescents should be utilized in teaching and counseling their peers and younger children. Admittedly, some of these proposals run counter to teacher concerns that reducing in-school courses and requirements threatens their jobs and that the number of hours, types of assignments, etc. that administrators can require of them would be limited rather than expanded. Finally, the secondary school's legal responsibility for its students' welfare need not pose a barrier to well-designed community-involvement projects. Instead of requiring students to stay on campus all day, the institution can meet its "in loco parentis" obligations by carefully investigating and planning for all the safety considerations (location, transportation, etc.) involved in any proposed community-learning setting. Then the school or some other institution (for example, a contractor) would take all the conceivable precautions that a prudent and concerned parent would take (alerting the police force, notifying the alternative institution of each student's expected arrival time, not sending youth out alone, etc.) before sanctioning student involvement in that alternative education site.

Community learning options are both facilitated by and supportive of smaller educational units. Keeping the school building open all the time and involving increasing numbers of adolescents in community-based educational settings decrease the size of the in-school population at any given time. Student utilization of community facilities (buildings, libraries, art centers, etc.) provides an educational diversity not dependent on teacher/pupil ratios or on each school expanding its physical resources and facilities. All these factors, plus the projected decline of the 12-18 year-old group (beginning in 1976 and continuing in absolute terms until 1985), can have the additional benefit of greatly reducing many school districts' building needs.

The development of performance or proficiency measurements is recommended by the Panel as an important mechanism for enhancing and controlling the diversity of an adolescent education system offering various in-school and out-of-school learning opportunities. In replacing the Carnegie credit unit approach to educational accomplishment, performance measures would facilitate movement between (entry into and exit from) different alternatives within the school framework and between school and non-school offerings. Records of a student's performance in various areas will enable cohesion and continuity to be maintained in his educational program despite participation in a number of different alternative institutions. On another level, rigorous evaluation controls should be established for each alternative program or learning setting in order to evaluate the process taking place and the outcomes in the students' lives. Research and in-process evaluation are necessary to determine what types of alternative learning settings, and under what conditions, produce what results.

Equally important for a diversified secondary education system is the development of an effective information-dispensing and guidance system to help adolescents effectively utilize the available options. The existing high school guidance system is performing so poorly, however, that it seems doubtful that it can be sufficiently improved to meet any new demands. The present mechanism tries to make adolescents adapt to the system rather than vice versa, serves such structural needs of the education industry as career advancement rather than more client-related goals, and fragments the school's responsibility and concern for the students. It has also emphasized simple (and usually inadequate) information-distribution, rather than students' institutional and personal adjustment problems, largely because of the institution's pressure on counselors to protect the interests of the school and the faculty before those of the students. The more recent concept of the guidance office as the provider of humane treatment and personal support within the school frequently has assumed psychiatric overtones and, paradoxically, has reduced the concern with humaneness elsewhere in the school. As a profession, high school guidance personnel seem to be both vastly over-trained and inappropriately trained, unable to define their functions and goals, and more concerned with college-placement than job-placement or anything else.

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The increased need for good guidance and counseling is more evident than how those functions should be performed, where they should be housed institutionally, what new types of personnel are needed and how they can be obtained. College and job information and placement might be performed by the school or handled by an autonomous community guidance center which would be beholden to its clients rather than to educators or employers. Such an independent agency would certify all an individual's competencies and learnings, regardless of where obtained, since no current institution, with rare exceptions, awards school credit for learning which occurred outside its walls. Assistance with course and institution selection, as well as with "learning the ropes" of any given institution, are other important counseling functions. The former must be carried out more aggressively than at present to prevent students who lack direction or initiative from getting lost amongst the alternatives and falling out of the educational system. In addition, an education system which increases the contents and styles of learning settings needs some means of helping students to interrelate their disparate learning experiences. Some type of student advocacy or ombudsman-like function also seems important. "Counselors" should be people of a variety of skills, backgrounds, experiences and ages to be truly knowledgeable about options and requirements in the community at large.

To become viable, a U.S. adolescent education system offering a wide variety of in-school and out-of-school learning opportunities will require not only adaptations in the existing secondary education system but also supportive changes in the larger society. Educators alone cannot effectuate a wealth of rewarding local community learning options. Without adequate numbers of jobs or the alleviation of structural barriers to existing jobs (child labor laws, unemployment insurance, etc.) work experience will not be a realistic non-school alternative for many adolescents. Other experiences will not be available either if local adults have no interest in integrating young people into their own daily activities and work places. Colleges must alter their entrance requirements to sanction non-academic learnings before students with college ambitions will feel free to deviate from the traditional high school curriculum. At the same time, most young people will not select options, regardless of how they are designed, which they clearly perceive the society does not honor. In some cases, state and/or local regulations on educational governance and financing may require modification before various out-of-school learning experiences can be sanctioned by the educational system. The federal government might also try to encourage the development of local educational alternatives - perhaps by endorsing the creation of out-of-school learning settings or by funding the development and implementation of evaluation models of community-based learning experiences. For adolescents in the U.S. to be integrated into, rather than further isolated from, the workings and experiences of the larger society, the society as a whole must recognize that the school is not the only institution which needs to be actively involved with youth and their education.

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CHAPTER 5

KNOWLEDGE AND INVOLVEMENT FOR ADOLESCENTS IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES OF SOCIETY

Formal education in the United States has traditionally emphasized developing in the nation's youth the skills and attitudes to understand and exercise their rights and responsibilities as citizens. Although structures efforts at "citizenship education" have varied, the schools have long transmitted the general ground-rules for living and participating in this society and, particularly, the principles and mechanisms of the governmental system. The term "citizenship" has had differing connotations over the years, but has generally combined feelings of affiliation with the country and its heritage (loyalty, patriotism) with the disposition to take an active part in governmental affairs, at the very least through voting[1].

Americans' loyalty to their political system and their formal social institutions results largely from a faith in the oppenness of those institutions to change and improvement[2]. Based on a concept of popular sovereignty, of government of, by and for the people, U.S. institutions derive their legitimacy from a public belief in their constant process of amelioration - a process of which dissent, criticism and reform are important components. To the extent that social institutions absorb and respond to public input, citizens participate in social decision-making and therefore in social change. The ability of individuals and groups to exert influence on the system and its institutions has long been perceived in the United States as an important means of alleviating some of the social disparities resulting from race, sex, class and family income.

The nature of contemporary U.S. society is making the exercise of many basic American principles increasingly difficult. Vast technological development and rapid urbanization have been accompanied by rises in the size, complexity and intradependency of society and its formal institutions, both public and private. The result has been to minimize the extent to which an individual can determine his social environment or that the public can significantly influence governing bodies. The expanding organizational interests, clientele, bureaucratic structures and impersonality in government, business, and professional and service societies are turning the concept of "consent of the governed", with its concomitant assumption of institutional responsiveness, into little more than rhetoric. Studies (Barnard, 1951) show that the acceleration of centralization within organizations is increasing, and is leading to greater "alienation" of the masses of people within them. Decision-making processes which significantly affect the lives of most Americans (concerning the amount and types of available jobs, the quality of the natural environment, the nature of the goods and services which dominate daily life, for instance) are usually remote from and unresponsive to the individual citizen. The burgeoning "life-support systems", encompassing most of the health, housing, transportation, educational and other services to the population, are today too complex and inclusive for significant individual or group intercession or disengagement. Although, historically, the majority of Americans have not actively participated in society's decision-making processes, never before has the power to make and implement those decisions been so concentrated in huge managerial institutions and corporations, whose decision-making experts, specialists, and professionals are generally insulated from the general public[3].

If formal education is to adequately prepare today's youth for participation in the "civitas", it will have to equip them to deal with United States society and its institutions as they now exist, as well as how they were originally intended to operate. One possible approach is to help young people develop those attitudes and behavior - passivity, the following of instructions, etc. - which should help institutionalized systems to operate most smoothly. However, recent trends towards the critical examination of established institutions and procedures and one's relation to them, as well as organized attempts by various groups to regain some control over their lives, suggest that active individual participation in social decisions is both possible and rewarding.

For the young to acquire the skills in decision-making, communication, persuasion, group organization and fund-raising necessary to effectively influence social institutions, schools and other educational alternatives will have to make the principle of, and skills for, citizen involvement much more central to their "citizenship education" efforts. This is not to say that the traditional provision of information is not important. However, the civic information that adolescents need is not so much ideal or abstract descriptions of political structures as concrete facts about U.S. public and private institutions and how they in fact operate, both individually and collectively. Too few Americans know how to move through the court system, advance their interests as consumers or utilize such existing due-process mechanisms as collective bargaining or income tax appeal. A young person must also acquire analysis and criticism skills, as well as information about social institutions, if he is to be able to effectively navigate "the System".

The ability to exert influence on these social institutions and processes, even if exercised by an individual only occasionally or without appreciable success, is central to theories of democratic government. In addition, individual participation in situations affecting oneself is important for ethical reasons.

> "Much of the work in ethics implies that moral judgments must be made autonomously and that one's action must have effects in reality. The fewer skills or abilities (one) has to exert influence in the world, the more (one) must submit to deterministic forces, and the less (one) can act as an autonomous agent. If (a person) is unable to engage in action which actually exerts influence on or affects reality, according to (his) autonomous intentions, then (that person) is in a sense incapable of moral action." 4

This does not mean, of course, that the presence or absence of an individual's ability to exert influence over a situation is the sole indication of whether he will act morally.

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An individual's ability to exercise influence in his environment is also important in a psychological sense, since it seems to contribute to the development of the ego-strength or identity critical in a sense of self-worth[5]. A number of theories (White, 1959; Erickson, 1968) suggest that operating in an active rather than a passive role is a human developmental need. "A healthy identity requires that a person be able to act upon the environment in such a way that the environment responds to some degree in accordance with the actor's intentions."[6].

This latter benefit of actively attempting to influence one's environment may be particularly significant in the education of adolescents, especially since many of them are maturing earlier. As adults and young adults, 12 to 18 year-olds are increasingly entitled to and capable of having more voice over their own lives. In fact, people seem to learn the most about how and why to act responsibly by having to make and live with the consequences of their own decisions. In addition, research suggests that the years 12-16 represent a watershed in the emergence of an individual's political thought[7].

> "By the time this period is at an end ... (a young person's) mind moves with some agility within the terrain of political concepts; he has achieved abstractness, complexity, and even some delicacy in his sense of political textures; he is on the threshold of ideology, struggling to formulate a morally coherent view of how society is and might and should be arranged." [8]

This appears to be a good age, then, to help youth develop a firmlygrounded academic and practical understanding of democratic philosophy and its operational ramifications.

As discussed earlier, learning about the workings of society's institutions - and nearly any other subject - is enhanced when it results from personal experience as well as academic study. Experience-based learning seems to have considerable potential for individual cognitive and affective development, since learning appears to improve the closer it occurs to a situation of immediate concern to the learner. A functioning in, rather than a study of, social institutions and decision-making processes can provide first-hand knowledge of "civics" while breaking down adolescents' isolation from a vital area of the community's activities.

Adolescent knowledge of and participation in decision-making processes can benefit American society as a whole as well as the individuals involved. The last few years have seen the state and its authority - and every form of authority - challenged by the country's youth. Direct experience by young people in various decision-making processes and institutions might well lessen their disposition to see "the Establishment" as remote from their concerns and to thrash out against it blindly or violently. Such adolescent involvement in society's institutions would help to bridge the age-segregation so common in our culture and, hopefully, to improve the interpersonal relations between adolescents and older people.

The most successful way of learning how to cope with any institution seems to be by beginning with learning from and about the institution with which one has the most contact. For adolescents that institution is at present the secondary school. Involvement in an educational institution is especially important, since learning is an intimate process which, by definition, involves some active participation by the learner. In fact, John Dewey[9] often emphasized "the importance of the participation of the learner in the formation of the purposes which direct his activities in the learning process".

In addition, a recent study of crisis in secondary schools[10] found that the greater a student's ability to influence decisions in the school (especially in relation to a high degree of peer group integration), the greater his sense of control over his school life, and the smaller the personal frustration found to be a frequent cause of school disruption. A student's belief in internal control, which has a high positive correlation with academic achievement, achievement motivation and favorable attitudes towards teachers and learning environments, was found most often in schools with a significant sharing of decision-making opportunities among all the involved groups. Other research (Parson, 1963; Tannenbaum and Kahn, 1957; etc.) seems to support the finding here that the total amount of power in an organization is variable, rather than fixed, and that expanded opportunities for students to be influential in, and influenced by, the school does not have to mean less power for any other echelon[11].

Schools in the United States have long concerned themselves with "citizenship education". As De Tocqueville observed in the 1840's, "In the United States politics are the end aim of education."[12] More recent authors have maintained that, as a consequence of this emphasis,

> "Schools were expected to teach discipline and respect for authority ... (permeate) the curriculum with moral instruction and patriotic exercises; ... (and assume) the additional tasks of removing ethnic differences, fostering social equality, and eliminating highly individualistic conduct."[13]

These assumptions of the schools' civic purposes, including that of the melting-pot function, have traditionally been supported by the courts.

Civics first emerged as an independent school subject during Washington's Presidency, and was designed to teach formal American governmental structures through memorization. This original mechanism-oriented approach occasionally expanded to include a historical or developmental orientation. It was not until the early 1900's, however, that the curriculum shifted to an emphasis on political and social problems. This approach reflected both the feeling that citizenship education should go beyond history and political structures to all the social studies and the growing awareness of social problems that came with the Great Depression and the New Deal. By the late 1950's, the goals of civics were being expressed in behavioral terms in an attempt to bring unity into the social sciences through an emphasis on psychology and social psychology. Then during the 1960's a "new social studies" curriculum emerged, based on modes of thinking common to all the social studies. Method-oriented, this approach emphasized raising the level of students' discussions of questions of ethics and public policy.

The field of social studies, especially as the means of transmitting "citizenship", has a number of weaknesses. Highly eclectic, the field appears to have no coherent purpose and urges a sequencing of material which appears little more than arbitrary. Citizenship is presented academically and is usually equated with studying the structure of the political system. The realities of how the political system operates, whom it favors and how one participates are not generally explained, nor are the influence of such other factors as economics and tradition on society's operations. The school itself is rarely if ever seen as an institution to learn about. Another problem is that too many citizenship programs do not deal with existing societal injustices, despite the fact that many youth are constantly informed about them by the media. It may well be that a civics program that fails to make connections between society's ideals and its persistent injustices promotes the cynicism often found among the young. Instructional silence on and irrelevance to current problems can also promote assumptions of hypocrisy and social apathy as cultural norms.

Political socialization studies have indicated that, for whatever reasons, the various standard curricular approaches to citizenship education do not make significant differences in students' understanding of the political system. Langton and Jennings (1968) found that loyalty, participation, use of media for political information, and the disposition to discuss politics showed "scant differences ... as a consequence of whether the student had taken a more traditional American Government course or the topically-oriented, wider-ranging American Problems course." The authors concluded that, "If the educational system continues to invest sizable resources in government and civics courses at the secondary level - as seems most probable - there must be a radical restructuring of these causes in order for them to have any appreciable pay-off."[14]

Secondary schools do not, and have not tried to, equip their students with the skills to cope with, influence or participate in the decision-making processes of society's institutions. "The purpose of conventional instruction is not primarily to help the student influence reality, but to help him describe, define, explain or evaluate it. In this sense, such a mode of instruction casts the student in a passive role."[15] While the ability to exert influence on one's environment utilizes skills in description, definition, explanation and evaluation, it definitely requires that one be able to affect what one has analyzed.

In this vein, student government is particularly ineffective. Normally, a small percentage of students is given a limited amount of power and discretion to exercise in areas of relatively little significance to the proceedings of or life within that institution. A recent study of high schools conducted out of the University of Michigan School of Education reported that 44% of the students felt their student government was "not effective" or "not at all effective", as opposed to 28% who rated it "effective" or "very effective" (28% were neutral). The authors expressed particular concern over this high dissatisfaction level since student government in most schools is the only channel through which students can voice their concerns.[16]

Schools, then, rarely contribute to an individual's knowledge about or ability to participate in institutions and their decision-making processes. More than that, they frequently develop in students counter-productive behavior and attitudes. Rather than representing any variation of the participatory democracy described in civics classes, schools reflect a highly structured, paternalistic (many say authoritarian) situation in which virtually every area of the student's life is prescribed. Passivity, conformity and obedience are more seriously and consistently rewarded than critical thinking or activism (broadly defined). As Edgar Friedenberg has said, "What is learned in high school depends far less on what is taught than on what one actually experiences in the place."[17] The contradiction between the rhetoric and reality of democratic government in the high school makes it difficult for students to understand or prepare for the role of United States citizens. According to the New York Civil Liberties Union Student Rights report,

> "The effect on students of this double standard has been disastrous. Cynicism, disbelief in the rule of law and the sense that the schools are a massive spectacle of hypocrisy are widespread among students. Students cannot be taught in their classes about ... freedom of the press while their own leaflets and newspapers are censored. They cannot be taught about James Madison and freedom of speech while they are prevented from distributing a handbook that describes their rights. They cannot be taught about due process and the presumption of innocence while they are subject to arbitrary and unfair procedures. Above all, they cannot be taught about the rule of law

> while they themselves are ruled by officials who seem to be above the law."[18]

The Panel recommends that the concept and reality of "citizenship education" be expanded to include broad participation of youth in society's public and private institutions. Such a goal can be approached and implemented in a variety of ways. First, high schools should undertake at least some curriculum adaptation and/or expansion. Participants at the 1971 White House Conference on Youth suggested that the secondary schools develop courses on political principles and processes which use the community as a laboratory. "The courses should be organized in an independent study and seminar structure in which a student selects a community institution to study, becomes actively involved in it, and then returns to share experiences and observations in a seminar.'[19] Alternatively, students could do independent research projects on such community-oriented topics as the growth and deterioration of a given local neighborhood or industry. The schools might also offer courses in propaganda analysis, the concepts of power and its uses, and the health, transportation and other U.S. "life-support" systems. A discussion of the latter might well attempt to explicate and discuss societal and invididual values by raising students' awareness of how the valued commodities and services in our society are produced, who receives them and how, and how institutions can be structured to maximize society's values. Such courses need not totally replace more traditional civics efforts, and thus are not susceptible to arguments that they will lower intellectual standards or distort students' perspectives of social events and processes.

Another in-school possibility is student organizations devoted to public affairs. Designed on a national basis, with in-put from political parties, unions and other organizations, these clubs could combine an advanced level of analysis of public policy issues with opportunities to observe and participate in the political process and local and national competitions and awards.

In addition to various curricular changes, the Panel urges that students be given a voice in the policy and governance of the educational system. The Panel agrees with the recommendation of the White House Conference on Youth that "Government at all levels ... should include students on all its educational boards. State, county and local government agencies should have student representation."[20] High school students should have voting, not merely advisory, powers on these bodies whenever possible. Additional efforts are needed to include the racial and ethnic minorities, non-college prep students, and other youth not usually involved in even student government. In some instances state or local laws may need to be changed to facilitate student involvement in educational governance systems.

Calls for increased student participation in schools are often met with arguments that such actions would decrease the professional management and operation of the schools or result in "education by whim". Such presumed problems necessitate the careful planning of youth involvement opportunities, rather than their continued non-implementation. It is also possible, for instance, that the students' energy, intelligence, creativity and immediate concern for schools could be used by administrators to attack the problems confronting education today. Youth involvement might be strengthened by students' participation in a mock school board election or crisis-management situation in which the schools' legal, financial and public responsibilities and restrictions become more clear. At any rate, since 12 to 18 year-olds are the ones most affected by educational policies, these young adults need to be involved in the decision-making processes of schools and other educational alternatives. Although students do not have the professional expertise to make basic administrative decisions about staff or plant expenditure, their input concerning curricula, rules for student conduct, and possibly teacher evaluation, is relevant and important[21].

The question of the rights and responsibilities of adolescents within educational institutions has been raised frequently in the last few years. Much of the recent controversy seems to have resulted from the concentration of larger numbers of adolescents who, on the average, are becoming physically mature and socially sophisticated earlier in schools whose increasing size has generally been accompanied by greater institutional impersonality and arbitrariness. This situation has been accompanied by societal trends towards critical examination of established institutions and procedures and the increase in teachers' efforts to secure more power over their lives and working conditions. In any event, the issue of students' rights and responsibilities includes both Constitutional questions and institutional management considerations of how to treat people. Although the courts have generally refrained from intervention in the schools, the judiciary has begun supporting students in those areas of rights guaranteed under the Bill of Rights (freedom of speech, assembly and the press), assumed under due process concepts and related to protection from racism, sexism and other forms of educational discrimination[22]. In the notable 1969 case of Tinker v. Des Moines Independent School District the Supreme Court extended the First Amendment rights of free speech to secondary school students.

> "While the Tinker opinion accepts the conventional view of education as a tool for citizenship-building, the type of citizen desired and the educational means of attaining this ideal differ from the orthodox conceptions. First, the majority of the Supreme Court recognizes that the process of education can be more important than its content in achieving educational aims ... The majority asserts in its ruling that 'state-operated schools may not be enclaves of totalitarianism. School officials do not possess absolute authority over their students ...' But the Supreme Court recognizes that this diminution of teacher authority will actually enhance the educational process, since, as it wrote, 'The Nation's future depends upon leaders trained through wide exposure to that robust exchange of ideas which discovers truth out of a multitude of tongues, rather than through any kind of authoritative selection.'"[23]

The Panel endorses the recommendation of the White House Conference on Youth that all schools and other educational alternatives for adolescents devise, with participation by all significant constituencies, a "code of students rights, responsibilities, and conduct which will clearly define the legal and social relationships of the institutions to the student and the student to the institution."[24] Such a code might well include:

> "An explanation of how the application of the basic U.S. freedoms apply to students within the formal educational

> institutions; ... an enumeration of administrative, faculty and student responsibilities, especially regarding not unreasonably interfering with the orderly educational process; ... a delineation of the procedural safeguards on the imposition of penalties; ... a statement of the degree to which students shall be involved in various areas of each educational institution's decision-making; ... a guarantee of participation by all groups in the revision of the original code." [25]

Rules of conduct and delineations of student rights need to be specified for them to be followed and to minimize arbitrary enforcement; they need to be written to protect all transient school populations. These agreements should exist for each secondary school and/or school district, but might also be written into state school laws, state and local policies and teacher contracts. Rules of conduct should apply to all persons in the school, not just to students. The issue of adolescent rights and responsibilities is not limited to the schools, however. It is closely related to widespread societal treatment in the U.S. of youth as less equal than older people. Many youth do not know their rights or duties, or even feel that they deserve rights, or know what to do if their rights are abridged.

Other means of broadening participation in educational decision-making include establishing joint decision-making groups in areas of curriculum and personnel and providing students with collective power in school decision-making[26]. Smaller educational units can also promote greater student involvement and control by increasing the access of students to all the people and activities within the school, decreasing the need for highly formal and rigid rules and procedures, and preventing collective student involvement efforts from assuming mob proportions or characteristics. All such steps to restructure power relationships within the schools should be accompanied by training administrators, teachers, students and community members in the concept and possibilities of variable (as opposed to "fixed") total power within an organization to show how increasing one group's power does not have to mean decreasing the power of another[27]. Also important is training in non-violent strategies for gaining and effectively using power, and the development of skills for understanding the school structure, making decisions and organizing for collective action.

In addition to changes within the existing secondary school system, meaningful youth knowledge about and participation in institutional decision-making can be effectively pursued in the broader community. Such efforts require, however, that adults outside the schools assume more responsibility for youth and their education. Adolescents can serve as interns in public agencies, as is being done in the successful Executive High School Internships Programs in New York City. Juniors and seniors there take a one-semester sabbatical from their regular studies to serve as special assistants to senior officials in government, private non-profit agencies, civic organizations, educational and cultural institutions, mass communications, and the private sector. They spend four days a week with their sponsors, attending policy meetings and conferences, making presentations, following up on special assignments and developing collegial relationships with these executives. The interns also attend weekly seminars conducted by program staff on urban policy development and administration. Participants, who are not paid, submit projects to their schools at the end of the semester and receive full academic credit. Although this program is funded jointly by New York City's Human Resources Administration and Board of Education, similar activities could presumably be sponsored by school boards, individual or joint community agencies, or such independent citizens' groups as the League of Women Voters.

A related public internship project is the Dymany Program, which offers 17 to 20 year-olds "a coordinated year of work and study and involvement in the life of a representative city, Worcester, Massachusetts."[28] Each of the five internships a student has - in politics, government, business, labor, and private agencies - includes some routine and some creative, independent projects.

An additional non-school approach is to open up and/or design various "public action" activities for interested youth. These activities could include working for a candidate or issue in local elections, organizing local environmental clean-up campaigns, making a film about a local social problem, developing and conducting questionnaires on day care centers or zoning laws, investigating policies and practices of local government agencies and watch-dogging newly-implemented reforms. In some projects, youth have been trained to help juvenile offenders in areas not requiring professional legal knowledge or to assist tenants in delapidated housing get their homes repaired. Action-learning or DUO (Do Unto Others - school-

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sanctioned volunteer work in several states) programs can also offer various public action opportunities.

Such action-oriented projects may involve "behind the scenes" activity or more dramatic, publicly-visible work. They may aim toward the selection of officials and representatives or toward persuading officials already in power. They may include efforts to maintain existing policy and to urge radical change. Students may be cast in the role of creative initiators, critical protesters, leaders or followers[29]. Adolescent participation is especially important in the decision-making and implementing of programs - educational, delinquency prevention, drug usage, etc. - which directly affect them.

Public interest groups are not - and should not be - limited to youthful members. Most communities have a number of public and private agencies that should encourage adolescents and older people to participate as co-equal members. Some adolescents might work under the auspices of such organizations as The Connecticut Citizens Action Group (a state affiliate of Ralph Nader's national Center for the Study of Responsive Law), the American Tuberculosis Society or community review groups attempting to provide public monitoring and supervision of local public or private institutions. Others might serve as youthful spokesmen or ombudsmen within consumer groups, local businesses, hospitals or executive boards of national corporations.

Although the list of public action possibilities for youth is only

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limited by a community's interest and imagination, a number of potential problems exist in their implementation. Investigative or advocacy efforts, in particular, can easily generate hostility from the agencies involved, inflammatory press coverage and bad public relations. The sponsoring educational institution, if any, might be accused of engaging in partisan activities and jeopardizing the doctrines of academic freedom and security from political pressure. These types of activities especially would be well-served by "how to" training or booklets for teachers and youth to help them develop the political sophistication necessary to minimize the arousing of public hostility.

Other problems can arise in community-based learning about the operation of society's institutions. Traditionally, such youth involvement has been accompanied by adult paternalism, direction, and even manipulation. Some participation opportunities have been opened to adolescents to motivate them to do something else or to neutralize their opposition to program or institutional goals. In addition adolescent apathy, lack of interest and inertia - as well as parental anxiety - are obstacles to active institutional participation by many youth.

The juvenile justice system can be another focal point of youth learning and involvement, especially with the high incidence of youth contact with the law and the low level of general knowledge about that system. In one Office of Economic Opportunity-sponsored program in Boston, high school seniors learned law by doing research, assuming

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various roles and arguing legal cases in their own classroom court. Social role-playing exercises need not be limited to the judicial system, of course. In other communities, youth model courts allow adolescents to assume the position of judge, prosecuting attorney, defense attorney, defendant, jury, probation officer, case worker and court clerk. In Lexington, Kentucky, the youth court became so efficient in handling peer discipline problems that it often received references for disposition and follow-up from the city court.

Although the form may vary, all these in-school and out-of-school programs represent a serious attempt to enable youth to participate more directly in American life, institutions and decision-making processes. The varying degrees of complexity and sophistication of these activities (from classroom discussions of propaganda to increased student participation in the schools to community investigatory activities) enable adolescents of all chronological and maturational ages to learn more directly about the operation of U.S. society and its institutions. Academic credit for all such activities should be available whenever the adolescent has performed responsibly.

Careful evaluation of both student and program performance, however, is essential. Little data exists on successful means of teaching -- or indications of displaying -- effective citizen behavior in a modern technological and democratic society. The development of proficiency measures of practical political skills (propaganda analysis, verbal persuasion, fund-raising, etc.) may prove useful in this regard. Thoughtful evaluation is also important because most

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community-based learning experiences are, understandably, highly individualistic and influenced by too many factors beyond the school's control for any clear accountability model to apply. Regardless of these operational considerations, the Panel suggests that the importance of adolescents learning about and participating in American institutions and decision-making processes makes it imperative that the educational system assume a new posture towards "citizenship education".

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CHAPTER 6

PROVIDING AESTHETIC EXPERIENCES FOR ADOLESCENTS

The institutions of adolescent education should strive to enrich the opportunities for aesthetic experiences. The Panel's recommendation in this area will be evaluated by discussing the significance of the arts and aesthetic perception and various approaches for expanding the opportunities for such experiences.

The arts have been an integral part of human life since the cave paintings of Altamira and primitive dances of early man. Man has used this language of artistic expression to capture the mystery and wonder of life. These arts and artifacts have objectified his feelings. Through this artistic expression, be it a da Vinci painting, a Navajo blanket, a Zen teacup or Roccoco furniture, man has attempted to order the seeming chaos of nature.

It is in part these artifacts of man that are his culture. It is the objects that are used in everyday life that will reflect a culture's sensitivities and priorities. The eating utensils, pottery and buildings of many an ancient culture are among our great art treasures today.

It is important to realize that aesthetic perception should and does permeate every aspect of life. Enlightened choices about all of

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our activities, from our choice of clothing to our living environment, can reflect a heightened sensitivity to the aesthetic.

American culture, though not necessarily hostile to the arts, has not allowed the arts to flourish as generously as they can. They have been generally considered peripheral and unproductive. Regarded not as expression to be incorporated into the mainstream of life, the arts have rather been seen mainly as a refinement for leisure time. Galleries, concert halls and theaters are attended, but separate from the business of life.

There has been a recent awakening regarding the importance of the arts in general education. The Elementary and Secondary Educational Act of 1965 poured unprecedented funds into the nation's schools, allowing many arts programs to be developed. Some of the more successful programs will be discussed as recommendations. However, although educators and government officials are aware of the essential role of the arts programs, the innovative programs represent a small percentage of present secondary school approach to the arts.

Only 12% of the high school students in this country have any meaningful contact with the arts, with the possible exception of English literature. In spite of the public proclamations of the importance of the arts, the artistic-aesthetic does not in any sense permeate the day-to-day life of the American high school. The sounds of Mozart, the beat of good jazz, are never audible in the corridors. There are no sculptures on the landings, no Rembrandts or de Koonings hanging in the light. Almost never does an awareness of an organic and functioning theater charge the atmosphere of a school with energy and concern.

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There are many efforts on the part of museums, theater groups, galleries and community centers to provide arts experiences for high school students. Overall, however, high school curricula remain untouched, no matter what the degree of innovativeness on the part of the agencies involved. There are an increasing number of programs of the National Endowment for the Arts - the National Council of the Arts and the various state art councils - but the arts continue to be treated as agreeable ornaments in the reality of the schools.

Furthermore, many Americans involved in education and the arts, now and in the past, have stressed the importance of the arts and specifically their relationship to education. John Dewey felt that "art throws off the covers that hide the expressiveness of experience things; it quickens us from the slackness of routine and enables us to forget ourselves by finding ourselves in the delight of experiencing the world about us in its varied qualities and forms. It intercepts every shade of expressiveness found in objects and orders them in a new experience in life."[1]

Rudolph Arnheim stated that the arts "contribute indispensably to the development of a reasoning and imaginative human being."[2] Joseph Farrell's Conference on Youth, Education and the Arts concluded that the arts must be considered basic to the education of all children; the enjoyment and the transcendent humanizing influence of

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the arts are as important to the individual as the technical skills that our educational system has provided[3].

What are the benefits from individual involvement with the arts? The arts are not represented as a panacea for everything that ails the high schools or the adolescent. However, there is strong evidence that the fundamental reorientation required by a consideration of the arts as focal can open up new perspectives on the function of education today. These benefits of artistic involvement are manifold and on various levels. They include developing perceptual thinking, personal emotional development and communication skills.

One of the greatest benefits from artistic involvement related to general education for all adolescents is the development of perceptual thinking. The artistic process of systematic planning, testing, executing and evaluating, almost simultaneously, seems to be one of the most productive kinds of thinking. Musical compositions or graphic projects would encompass this process with the development of more creative perception and thought processes.

Involvement in the arts expands one's perceptive capabilities. Visual recognition and identification of those persons and things that surround us are frequently superficial. Relying on the use of stereotypes is common. A drawing course that requires in-depth concentration while drawing such everyday objects as vases, flowers and utensils enlarges perceptual capacities by this examination of phenomena under new light.

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Maturing of the emotional life is one of the major concerns and outcomes of successful artistic involvement[4]. Involvement in the arts enables individuals to recover themselves as persons. Participation in and informed encounters with the arts are conducted by people aware of themselves as individuals, with some degree of conscious personal efficacy. The process of educating adolescents for participation in the arts must be a process whereby they become aware of themselves as individuals.

The arts are *languages*, and one of the important goals of education is developing the ability to communicate. The communication can be intrapersonal, with this awareness of personal values and preferences a vital step in the quest for identity. In addition, as a source of self-confidence, the arts present an environment in which each person's artistic communications are relevant. The students are called upon to develop their own abilities in relationship to themselves, not in competition with others.

An equally important form of communication is inter-personal. A link between a painter and a viewer, a musician and a listener and an actor and an audience is formed through the arts. This inter-personal communication is not confined to contemporary man but can enlighten as to the ways man has evaluated himself and his situation throughout history.

How does this involvement with the arts relate to the adolescent educational environment? The arts become an integral part of

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education because they contribute to the quest for meaning, provide perceptual education and help develop a critical and creative orientation to the environment and social world. However, the arts are currently seen as definitely peripheral to the business of education. Most adolescents, even those already interested, do not have time in their academically-weighted schedules to even incorporate the most fundamental of arts programs.

Many secondary schools have multiple arts programs, and rhetoric about the importance of the arts abounds. But in actuality there is little question about their peripheral nature and the dilettantism of involvement. The schools have stressed performance and how to do it (as long as it did not interfere with the academic courses) with little regard for the underlying aesthetic and emotional involvement. This has reinforced the isolation of the arts from the mainstream of school business.

The arts are considered subjects to be taught, not exciting experiences, and the students are held accountable for only the most minimal standards. The use of the grading system is most inappropriate in experiences that stretch personal expression and attempt to develop creativity. The subjective nature of the current grading system probably discourages many students from further involvement. The lack of enthusiasm and genuine involvement is apparent - from both the teachers and the students.

The arts programs are usually limited to the following: the high

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school band, the chorus, the art appreciation class, the English literature class. The approach and subject matter are often dry and unexciting. Many art forms are almost always excluded - jazz, dance, improvisational theater, symphonic music - and little concern is given to the contemporary arts of folk/rock music, visual arts and current literature.

Many of the present secondary school art teachers are not artists themselves and lack any real enthusiasm. They were inadequately trained in a system that views the arts as peripheral and they perpetuate the isolation and peripheral nature of the arts.

What are some of the approaches for expanding the opportunities for aesthetic experiences? There are a number of alternatives, some separate educational units, others to be coordinated with broader educational programs. The critical issue is the fundamental reorientation of contemporary education with the arts as a focal point. The arts must be taught seriously, related to one another and to the academic disciplines.

There are some important considerations before the alternatives are discussed. One is that experiences in the arts can take place in the schools or in the communities at large, and everyone should have access to these programs. The resultant age integration can be a valuable ingredient of a learning setting, and a more economical use of facilities.

Also, the role of the art teacher is crucial to the success of the aesthetic program. He should be a well-trained, versatile artistic performer, with a depth of involvement whereby for him the artistic process is never divorced from the aesthetic content[5]. The teacher's job is not to interpret the arts for their students, but rather to function as a lens through which the students are introduced to the arts.

In addition, a most important element of this new aesthetic experience is the connection between participation in an artistic activity and the ability to enjoy excellent artistry. The interaction between doing and observing cannot be overemphasized. The professional play becomes more meaningful to young people when they have been given opportunities for dramatic improvisation or performance in dramatic workshops. There must be many of these opportunities for study and performance.

The following recommendations relate directly to the present school system:

1. Professional artists should be used in the secondary schools.

One such successful program is the Artists-in-the-Schools program funded by the National Endowment for the Arts and HEW's Office of Education, a program of nearly $2,500,000, placing professional artists in classrooms in all fifty states. Nancy Hanks, Chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, stated:

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> "The response to the Artists-in-the-Schools Program throughout the country has been heartwarming and rewarding to all of us. One observer called it a 'sleeping giant', and indeed it has been in terms of the enthusiasm of the children, educators, parents and press."[6]

> "The program is not designed to train a generation of professional artists. Rather its purposes are primarily to increase children's powers of perception, their ability to express themselves and communicate creatively, through using tools and skills they might not otherwise develop."[7]

In their architecture/environmental arts program, professional architects, planners and educators work with students in a "city-building educational program" used as a device for teaching subjects ranging from social and physical sciences to mathematics and the arts. The film-making addition to the Artists-in-the-Schools program will in 24 states place professional film-makers in elementary and secondary school classes. During the last school year an estimated 550 poets and other writers reached more than 250,000 children, many of whose poems were published in books by the state arts councils. Thirty-two states will participate in the program that will bring sculptors, painters, craftsmen and architects to work in the elementary and secondary schools.

The artists supply a unique dimension to the educational process, having proved quite successful in the secondary school situation. Bradley Morison in an article for the Saturday Review felt that the artists were so dramatically successful in working with students because of good rapport with the students and a free-spirited improvisational teaching process in which "nothing in the creative

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situation is either right or wrong." To the artists, the arts are first of all experiences people should perceive and respond to, the artist's point of view being nonverbal and sensual. The students responded to this approach very favorably[8].

2. Mini-schools in the various arts should be developed. Mini-schools in photography, graphics, sculpture, literature or drama could be either an entire educational alternative or offer selected courses for students to take on a part-time basis. The present art facilities could be divided into separate areas where emphasis would be placed on each of the aforementioned arts. Various resource authorities would combine efforts to relate photography and its use to not only the arts but history, journalism, etc.

This interdisciplinary teaching can integrate the arts with the academic disciplines. Students' presentations of the arts and artifacts of different cultures would point out the relationships between the societal structure and the objects it produces. A discussion of structures from elemental particles to complex minerals and the organization of simple forms of life could concur with the making of structures in various media. The psychological nature of perception could be evaluated with studio projects in problems of illusion and the relation of the individual to the visual world around him.

There are two specifically curricula-oriented programs of importance. IMPACT, Interdisciplinary Model Program in the Arts for

Children and Teachers, funded by the Office of Education, has the specific goals of achieving a better balance between the arts and other instructional areas and of infusing the arts into all aspects of the school curriculum. This program presents a national effort linking national, state and local government agencies, professional artists and performers and professional arts education organizations with state and local community resources directed toward the involvement of administrators, teachers, students and parents in the pursuit of educational change that would move the total school environment closer to an artistic, aesthetic, humanized place in which to learn better.

Additional guidance and training were made available for the teachers of the pilot program of IMPACT, which involved a 10-day institute at a local university. Its purposes were to teach IMPACT teachers how to teach the arts, allow them to express themselves creatively and foster a favorable attitude towards the arts. A key aspect of the program is the aesthetic team. Four master teachers in the arts, one each in music, visual arts, dance and drama, serve as resource persons. They work with the teachers as well as giving demonstration classes[9].

Another curriculum approach has been developed by Central Midwestern Regional Educational Laboratory, Inc. (CEMREL), funded by Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Their Aesthetic Education Program was initiated to develop guidelines for curriculum and produce curriculum materials. Their pre-packaged programs include Constructing Dramatic Plot, Creating Characterization, Relating Sound and Movement, as well as other packages being tested and evaluated for their effectiveness in the secondary school system. Mark Schubart in The Hunting of the Squiggle states that CEMREL has been a significant influence on the development of aesthetic programs[10].

3. The school system could make special educational contracts with artists and arts organizations. As in the Urban Arts Programs of the Minneapolis Public Schools, various organizations could be contracted to involve adolescents in their programs at their facilities with their staff. The Urban Arts Programs include ballet, contemporary dance, modern dance, museum arts, architecture design, film, sculpture workshop, composition of folk rock blues, orchestra workshop and opera. The organizations contracted to offer these programs include the Walker Art Center, Metropolitan Art Dealers Association, Minnesota Orchestra, Minneapolis College of Art and Design, Minneapolis Dance Theater and School and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

In this program the high school students attend, during their regular school schedule and under the auspices of one of the aforementioned organizations, classes held in a variety of places, ranging from old homes to churches, and are taught by professional artists. There the artists, working in their natural environment, are most able to kindle enthusiasm for their work and achieve greater involvement of the real world in the instructional process.

Further recommendations relate to the community at large.

1. Community art centers should be developed. These would include studios for painting, sculpture, graphics and playing musical instruments. There would be areas for theatrical productions, ballet and modern dance, photographic darkrooms and television studios. They would use community artists and be open to all who wanted to participate, helping integrate the adolescent with the rest of the community. Attendance would be voluntary but student participation accredited.

Community repertory theater with adolescent as well as adult participation would complement the art centers. The many school auditoria could be used by these groups and others for their dramatic presentations. This would increase the use of these great financial investments now not fully utilized.

2. County and state arts councils must be established to further promote the arts within the community. Their function would be to find commercial patrons for the arts, to sponsor area art exhibits, theatrical performances and concerts, promote concern for the aesthetic environment of the community and offer prizes to outstanding local artists. The councils in cooperation with the art centers would coordinate the many programs available on the national, state and local levels in the arts.

Other community resources that could be more efficiently incorporated into the educational process are the museums, symphonies, theater troupes and public libraries. These include some of the most under-developed educational possibilities in the community. Some of these organizations have educational programs already, but they could be expanded and coordinated through the arts centers and the schools. New York City's Lincoln Arts Center has an arts educational program that could serve as a model for others. The students could not only become familiar with the formal presentations of these organizations, i.e. museum exhibits or concerts, but could share in the preparation and execution of these and other events.

3. The media should be used to encourage and give exposure to the various arts. Masterpiece Theater, an example of such programming on public broadcasting, is part of the dramatic, musical and dance presentations necessary for the more complete and balanced use of media. A recent public broadcasting program on an exhibit of paintings lent to the United States by the Russians was another example of excellent use of the media in giving exposure to outstanding cultural/arts events.

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CHAPTER 7

AIDING THE ADOLESCENT IN COPING WITH THE MASS MEDIA

The formal institutions of adolescent education should strive to create an educational environment which increases the abilities of adolescents to cope with the mass media.

This chapter has two basic themes: that today's youth learn a great deal from the mass media, and that educational institutions can play a crucial role in helping adolescents cope with what they learn in this manner. The Panel was charged with a concern for high schools and adolescent education, a charge which implies cognizance of the fact that some education takes place outside of the physical structures we call schools. In this chapter we start by documenting this insight. Yet while some observers might argue that more learning takes place through the mass media than in schools, an important question exists as to how much of this learning is really "educative". One can learn a great deal which is imbalanced, misleading and even incorrect, as well as much which is important and insightful. What is the mix of educative and non-educative learning from mass media?

Our second theme is that schools and other institutions concerned with education can take a much more active role in enhancing the educative effects of mass media. The fact that adolescents learn so much from the media means that today's adolescent exists in an educational environment fundamentally different from that of all but his most immediate predecessor. Besides examining what the media have to "teach" and how they teach it, we look at how schools have or

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have not approached the alterations in the educational environment caused by the mass media. An attempt is made to articulate the goals of a program in effective media education. Finally, the chapter concludes with several recommendations which point the way toward an effective program for meeting the educational needs created by modern mass media.

When we talk about "mass media" we are talking about communication, a fundamental human process which is coextensive with culture itself. "Medium" means "channel", the particular manner in which a message (communication) is conveyed from (human) source to (human) receiver. The feature which distinguishes modern mass media from older media is the way that they have fundamentally altered how human communication takes place.

This great change came about simply as a result of our ability to insert a machine into the communication process. Consequently communication is no longer a largely face-to-face human interaction. Since the time of the first printing press the relative proportion of non-face-to-face communication has increased tremendously. The consequences of this development are what we refer to when we discuss the "impact of the mass media"; they are what we point toward when we speak of contemporary adolescents growing up in a "media environment", and what Marshall MacLuhan was highlighting in his famous aphorism, "the medium is the message".[1]

The channel of communication - its forms and properties - have changed the communication process significantly.

How can we measure this impact? Some of the following information from experts on media gives some idea. Dallas Smythe asserts that the mass media occupy more of men's and women's non-sleeping, non-working time than any other activity in the United States[2]. Wilbur Schramm, in a summary of the impact of television on children for UNESCO (1964), estimates that the average person watches 10,000 hours of television by age 24, and that the medium of television dominates the leasure activity of younger children, with only a slight decline for older children [3].

One of the reasons for the powerful effect of mass media is the variety of ways in which they confront adolescents. Because each medium has its own particular properties, each confronts adolescents differently and has different potential effects.

Consider: 94% of the homes in the U.S. now have television sets; the average adolescent has spent more time watching television than he has spent in school[4]. Ninety-nine percent of homes have radios, and the ubiquitous transistor radio continues to be an essential element of the social environment of many adolescent peer groups. Records and tapes, in addition to providing entertainment, are essential media of "youth culture"; the sounds, images and lyrics of "popular" music (which now means "youth" music) may have more impact on adolescents than television.

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Movies have continued to attract an audience of young people, even though their popularity with other sectors of the population has declined. Informal surveys in major cities like Chicago indicate that more than 50% of the downtown theater audience is composed of young people. Books, magazines and newspapers, while older media than those mentioned, operate on other dimensions. Books provide a frequent means of cultural identity: the works of Kahlil Gibran, John Lennon and J. R. R. Tolkien are symbols of both the commonalities of youth experience and the distinctiveness of such experience from adult experience. Similar effects are associated with magazines like Ramparts and Rolling Stone and various "underground" newspapers. These older media are of special interest to youth because of the opportunities they provide for youth control of media; offset printing and the mimeograph machine allow adolescents to produce their own media and avoid the high costs of the "electronic" media[5].

Each medium has its own effects and possibilities. Our desire here is to assess the total impact of these media on adolescents and the relationship of this impact to educational experience. The impact itself is pervasive; one often hears the complaint that contemporary citizens of the U.S. are "saturated with media". Wilbur Schramm comments on:

> "... the great power given to the mass media to report to us on our environment. Indeed, much of what we know about everything except our most immediate surrounding comes to us through the mass media, and therefore it is important to

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> know both how the media handle this responsibility and how audiences handle the information delivered to them."[6]

In assessing the impact of media, we must have standards, just as we have standards in assessing the performance of schools. Thelma McCormick suggests the following: "The supreme test of the mass media ... is how well it (sic) provides for the integration of experience."[7]

In other words, the great possibility of the mass media is to extend our senses, to provide us with a better framework through which to make sense of our experience, to understand what is happening, whether that experience is first-hand or vicarious. The extent to which a media experience does this is the measure of its educative value. The mass media both provide information and are experiences in their own right. What is their impact?

The study of the impact of mass media has an interesting history. On the basis of the observed effect of war-time propaganda, an image developed of the almost supreme power of mass media to affect how people think and what they think. This is the "silver bullet" theory of media -- that any idea transmitted by mass media was magically empowered to influence, like a silver bullet. This image has been most important in the study of the effects of "violence" conveyed through the media. The "violence" issue has preoccupied students of the effects of media, and it is in this area that the greatest weakness of the "silver bullet" theory has been revealed.

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For example, the assumption of TV violence as a major cause of social violence has been questioned strongly by a recent report to the Surgeon General entitled Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence. The report concludes:

> "The evidence (or more accurately, the difficulty of finding evidence) suggests that the effect (of televised violence) is small compared with many other possible causes, such as parental attitudes or knowledge, or experience with the real violence of our society."[8]

The search for a direct one-to-one correlation between TV violence and social violence, besides being a dead end in itself, has had several negative effects on the study of mass media impact. First, it has perpetuated the illusion that the content of media can be studied independently of the process, or that the content is independent of the process. Study of the content of media - information - is essential but it must be carried on in such a manner that the situation in which media messages are produced, the context of the receiver situation and a host of other variables are taken into account. The second effect has been equally detrimental: the preoccupation with violence has led to lessened study of the subtle but more pervasive effects of media which we shall now consider. Finally, the violence question has resulted in a concentration on the effects of television and lessened the interest in other media.

Any assessment of the effect of mass media in modern U.S. society must consider the ways in which media shape the formation of people's needs and preferences. The primary medium for this is what we call

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advertising. The very development of mass media in this country is contemporaneous with the development of advertising. The existence of state-supported media in many other countries demonstrates that this particular path of development was far from necessary; nonetheless, it is the way things happened here.

Perhaps the best evidence of the effect of advertising is the very existence of the advertising industry, a $23 billion a year industry according to a recent CBS News Special[9]. When one adds to this amount the amount spent on the media themselves, plus that spent yearly on media equipment (TV sets, etc.) one might find that U.S. spending on advertising approaches all education costs (over $70 billion per year). One would hardly expect such a massive outlay of social wealth if it had no effect. Indeed, the economist John K. Galbraith asserts in his New Industrial State that the industrial system in the U.S. is so profoundly dependent on commercial television and other media that it could not exist without it[10]. Some economists argue that the huge corporations of today could not exist without the ability to predict and shape markets which comes through advertising. All explanations of the huge advertising industry (which includes over $1 billion in advertising and marketing research) presume its effectiveness.

Yet when one searches for descriptions of the effects of ads or for studies of the functions of ads, it is difficult to find meaningful material. In large part this is due to the fact that most of the research in this area is paid for and directed by the industries which are themselves the biggest advertisers. There is little of what Paul Lazarsfeld calls "critical" research: that is, research which is not bound "within the frame of reference laid down by the mass media themselves or by the support structure of advertisers, agencies, and government."[11]

Although the kind of data which one would like to have are not generally available (partly as a consequence of the preoccupation with TV violence described earlier), one can make some probing generalizations about the functions and effects of the 25,000 ads per year to which a child is exposed[12]. In contrast to advertising executives, who argue that the role of advertising is to present the receiver (whether viewer, reader or listener) with information to help make informed choices, media expert Edmund Carpenter suggests that its main function is to increase pleasure in the consumption of goods. It is this role which is central to the industrial process which Galbraith described. Indeed, it is likely that ads are as effective in the formation of general needs as in the formation of proferences for specific products.

This effect is very difficult to assess, but some notion of its scope can be developed when one considers how the very concept of "need" has become extremely confused and complicated because of massive advertising. A few pertinent questions indicate how this is so: If the industrial system is dependent upon increasing consumption (as Galbraith allows), can one speak of a yearly increase in "need"? If so, then how can one determine whether something is a "necessity" or a "luxury"? How can one determine what constitutes a minimum adequate income in this situation? The difficulty of finding answers to these questions is a consequence of advertising; the existence of the questions themselves is evidence of the pervasive influence of the media.

Ads have an effect on other information conveyed by the media -- what in television is called "programming". A group of media students, for example, surmised a close connection between the placement of news stories and ads in (ABC) TV news broadcasts (an antacid ad next to a story about a sailor lost at sea; a garbage compressor ad near a story about pollution). Fred W. Friendly, one-time news director for CBS television feels that there is an even more direct connection between news content and advertising, for example,

> "The yield from the detergent, deodorant, bleach or food advertisers who possess the daytime schedule (whose annual expenditures ... totals (sic) some $130,000,000) is the principal reason why no serious programming can be sustained for any length of time during those hours."[13]

Friendly's book Due To Circumstances Beyond Our Control frequently deals with the manner in which advertising priorities affect the news system of a major network. It is no mystery why one media critic has concluded, "programming is simply intended as a vehicle for organizing an audience to sell things to"[14].

Although a great deal is spent determining what will make people buy things, little money is spent determining how advertising affects people's broader consciousness of the world around them. In the CBS broadcast mentioned above, however, psychologist Erich Fromm commented upon the states of mind which are encouraged in viewers by television advertising:

> 1. A sense of fearfulness;
> 2. A tendency to believe in miracles; rather than human effort, gadgets will create the good life;
> 3. A condition of doubtfulness about the value of rationality and independent thinking because of the massive amount of information and conflicting claims which one individual cannot cope with alone;
> 4. A sense of the fantasy-like character of existence, with consequent dislike and disdain for those who would impose the real world upon the fantasy world.[15]

Fromm's comments may be extreme but they point in the direction of great influence. This is not connecting mass media with violence, but with the lives, needs and priorities of both individuals and the entire social order.

Television and other mass media have an effect in other areas as well. One of these is the formation of people's concepts of their own group and of other people. Walter Lippman alluded to this effect in his famous The World Outside and the Pictures in our Heads: "the process continues, and its effects are multiplied by the fact that, as pointed out earlier, "Much of what we know about everything except our most immediate surroundings comes to us through the mass media ..."[16]

The (HEW) Special Task Force on Work, for example, comments on how the media shape people's ideas about what it's like to be a worker:

> "Today, there is virtually no accurate dramatic representation -- as there was in the 1930's -- of men and women in working-class occupations. Instead, we have recently had the movie "Joe" and the television series about Archie Bunker ("All in the Family"). These stereotypes -- ignoring the heterogeneity of blue-collar workers -- do little to enhance the dignity of the worker or his job. For example, what does Archie do on the job? Is he ashamed of his job? Is that why he won't talk about it at home? Certainly, if he worked in an office we would see scenes of him at work. The negative view of all blue-collar work in the show is reinforced by the fact that Archie's "socially enlightened" son-in-law is a future professional.
>
> "Research shows that less than one character in ten on television is a blue-collar worker, and these few are usually portrayed as crude people with undesirable social traits. Furthermore, portrayals tend to emphasize class stereotypes: Lawyers are clever while construction workers are louts. But it is not only the self-image of the workers that is being affected; television is conveying to children superficial and misleading information about work in society. If children do, indeed, learn from television, they will "learn" that professionals lead lives of carefree leisure, interspersed with drama and excitement (never hard work) and that blue-collar workers are racist clods who use bad grammar and produce little of use for society." (p. 28-9) 17

Could it be that some of the present over-supply of professionals, as well as the discontent of blue-collar workers, is traceable to the influence of television?

Comments similar to those of the Task Force have been made about the influence of media on the social perceptions of women. An article in TV Guide includes the comment, "No force has demeaned women more than advertising."[18] Analyst Roxanne Dunbar describes the effect of Hollywood movies on the self-image of rural working-class southern women:

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> "Then it was in the early fifties that movies invaded the culture (of the area), introducing new (urban) patterns. The country folk were mystified by the city people portrayed, and they were humiliated in their ignorance and roughness. The women were embarrassed by the white, soft ladies in low-cut gowns with their jewels and high heeled shoes up against those country women with their leathered brown skin and muscles, and their drab clothes and heavy shoes. The men felt 'more manly' toward the soft-voiced, tender ladies on the screen than toward their own unsightly women.
>
> The image of the male which Hollywood created was not so very different from the country man. The female image was totally different. The farmers' taste and desire were supposed to change, and his self-image thereby. But the country women were to change completely -- physically and psychically. And it didn't work. The sight of country women in rhinestones and platform heels and brief dresses over their muscular bodies was a pitiful one indeed. The men left them (in fantasy) for Hollywood." 19

The effects of advertising and programming are complex, but their complexity must not be taken as a reason to ignore their consequences. An area of the most pervasive effects is one which we might call the formation of "sense of reality", which includes a "sense of self". Again, television is the star, in a process which we might call "the packaging of experience". Just as the primary function of the advertisement is to heighten the enjoyment of the product, so one might say that the role of television as a whole is to heighten the pleasure of experience by packaging it for easy consumption. The media are not only responsible for a major part of our image of the outside world; this image is projected in a manner which attempts to make consumption of this experience easier. One obvious consequence is the simplification of complex events. Several TV commentators, for example, have called attention to the manner in which TV has made politics in this country much more dependent upon personality than previously. (This is discussed in Theodore White's Making of the

President series[20]; or see Daniel Boorstin, From News-Gathering to News-Making: A Flood of Psuedo-Events[21]. This is just one way in which a particularly crucial aspect of "reality" has been altered in the confrontation with mass media.

But the effects enter other areas as well. Lang and Lang in a pioneering paper on the effects of television, comment:

> "It has been claimed for television that it brings the truth directly into the home: The 'camera does not lie'. Analysis of the above data shows that this assumed reportorial accuracy is far from automatic. Every camera selects, and thereby leaves the unseen part of the subject open to suggestion and inference. The gaps are usually filled in by a commentator. In addition, the process directs actions and attention to itself." 22

In this section the authors are pointing out one of the mechanisms through which media become determiners of the reality they are supposedly trying to convey.

This process can have a crucial place in development as well. The UNESCO study comments on the effect of TV on children:

> "Studies of TV content of course vary in their results from country to country, but many of them point out that television brings a child face to face with adult problems long before he ordinarily would meet them, and in some countries at least, tends to give him a view of adult life that is distorted in terms of social class, desirable occupations, and violent ways of solving problems." (p. 13)

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It is not stretching a point too far to comment that a problem emerges in this area which is similar to the problem of what constitutes a need: What is reality? The mass media have such a great deal of power to shape the perception of reality of the receiver that one wonders whether the reality of the media begins to replace the reality of the outside world.

It is at this point that the comments of Erich Fromm quoted earlier become most relevant. If it is true that mass media are capable of greatly influencing people's sense of reality, what are some of the directions that this influence might take? Fromm suggests the possibility of systematic distortion in the direction of undermining the individual's sense of the power of reason and rationality, and converting all experience to fantasy. This might be one direction.

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Another direction is suggested by a cursory review of the content of recent television situation comedies. The plots of several of these shows seem to consistently fall into a pattern which emphasizes the ubiquity of strife, misunderstanding and personal frustration. While perhaps one cannot argue with the verisimilitude of such situations, it is the manner of resolution of the plot which seems to carry the most opportunity for distortion: plots are consistently resolved through some caprice, happenstance or serendipity -- almost never through the concentrated attempts of the human beings involved to work out their own problems. There is a striking connection between this structure and the comment made by Fromm that advertising encourages the feeling that solutions to problems can be found only through miracles. Both structures tend to reinforce passivity, individualism and despair, and systematically affect viewers'

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perceptions of themselves and their world in this direction.

The possibility of this distortion of reality is increased by some characteristics structurally inherent to mass media: absence of feedback, the concept of "news" and the limitations of "objectivity", which lead to difficulties which the media alone cannot hope to solve.

The absence of feedback is a price it seemed one had to pay in order to receive the benefits of mass communication. Postman and Weingartner outline the problem in the following manner:

> "There has been ... a decrease in available and viable 'democratic' channels of communication because the mass media are entirely one-way communication ... The communication is virtually all one way: from the top down, via the mass media, especially TV ... The effect of this process on all of us is to leave no alternative but to accept policy, act on orders from above and implement the policy without question or dialogue ..." [23]

In two-person communication, the receiver has the opportunity to immediately respond to the communicator. Even the medieval troubadour had the benefit of immediate reaction to his performance, whether positive. In both situations communicators are dependent upon their audience in a direct way. The TV news commentator, in contrast, is functionally independent of his audience. Carey points out that this has either one of two consequences. Either the newsman develops a contempt for both the sources of his information and his audience, or there is an internalization of the sources' value and an identification with the source. The newsman is, after all, dependent upon the source

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for the information which is his stock-in-trade. The passivity of the viewer is total, and feedback to the commentator is virtually eliminated[24].

A second structural difficulty, particularly for the broadcast media, is the problem of what constitutes news. The comments of Edward R. Morrow explore this problem:

> "One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales, or show business. But, by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs."[25]

This is the context within which news, primary source of information about the "outside" world, is formed.

The third difficult area concerns what professional commentators call "objectivity". This problem is discussed by Carey in the following manner:

> "What are lamely called the conventions of objective reporting were developed to report another century and another society. They were designed to report a secure world of politics, culture, social relations, and international alignments about which there was a rather broad consensus concerning values, purposes, and loyalties. The conventions of reporting reflected and enhanced a settled mode of life and fleshed out with incidental information an intelligible social structure.

> Today no accepted system of interpretation exists and political values and purposes are very much in contention. Politics, culture, classes, generations, and international alignments are not part of an intelligible mode of life, are not directed by shared values, and cannot be encased within traditional forms of understanding. Consequently, 'objective reporting' does little more than convey this disorder in isolated, fragmented news stories. Even worse, the canons of objective reporting filter historically new phenomena through an outmoded linguistic machinery which grossly distorts the nature of these events ... The conventions ... not only report (an event), they endow it, pari passu, with an order and logic -- an order and logic which simply masks the underlying realities. Audiences, as a result, read about and experience (the event), indeed, are obsessed by it, but are unable to personally understand it nor are they able to see it as an event in their common national life."[26]

Thus even the canons of objectivity, the historical claim to credibility of the news media, can no longer be accepted as guides sufficient in and to themselves.

The issues raised tentatively above should not be taken as perfectly formed and presented. The discussion is exploratory, intended to raise questions about the character of mass media and their role in society. What emerges from the discussion is that the media contribute to the obscuring of experience as much as they contribute to its integration. The power of the media in need and preference formation, power in self-concept formation and group-concept formation, and the structural problems of lack of feedback, news formulation and objectivity all point toward the disintegration of experience for the individual.

The existence of these phenomena warrant a clear call for an educational environment which helps adolescents cope with them. Such

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an environment would help youth understand the sources of the issues raised above, help provide a *critical audience* for the media which might begin to overcome the problems of one-way communication (particularly if aided by the real development of viewer-access cable TV) and eventually provide the professional communicators who may be able to resolve the issues.

The possibilities for media are as great as they ever were: the opportunity to provide instantaneous access of millions of people to crucial events; the opportunity to share information with a broad group of people so that intelligent, socially-represented decisions can be made; the opportunity to expose people to enough different perspectives and analyses so that the true complexity of issues can be grasped. It is not utopian to imagine the kind of national concentration which occurs during the funeral procession of a murdered dignitary which takes place at a time of acute national crisis as well. The step beyond that, such concentration being transformed into collective solutions to crisis, is not as large as it might seem. *What is needed is instruction* in *how* the media do what they do. This should be carried out in a manner which objectifies and examines the properties of a social order so dependent upon mass communication.

Adolescents themselves have demonstrated the power of music, carried through media, to begin the process of exposing aspects of social situations to public scrutiny and developing alternative value patterns. The songs of Bob Dylan, for example, had major impact in the areas of both style and content. "The times, they are a-changin'" articulated positively the feelings of rebellion of a whole generation; "The masters of war" directed a critical gaze at a social phenomenon which set the context of the lives of adolescents in the post-war period. Dylan's songs, in a sense, charted the way for repair of the split between art (music) and social awareness (activity). It is significant that through the medium of long-playing records and later radio, this process was transformed from an isolated event in folk-singing clubs to one which affected the lives of millions of youth.

Given the breadth of all these issues and the wide scope of media impact, instruction in "how the media do what they do" is a major challenge for formal educational institutions; an educational environment adequate to meet the challenge of the mass media would be something quite unique for formal education. What the Panel is calling for is a program of education which helps the student understand a pervasive yet subtle social phenomenon, while at the same time understanding his own relation to that phenomenon. We are looking for education which enables the student to understand, for example, how a record or TV program or article affects him personally; what the message is appealing to and how it is shaping his sense of what is real and unreal, what is proper and what is improper. Ultimately, such instruction must be carried out in a manner which objectifies and examines the properties of a social order so dependent upon mass communication.

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We now turn to a brief examination of the relationship between the present system of adolescent education and the need outlined

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above. Todd Gitlin has described the mass media and the educational system as the two great means of communication in our contemporary society [27]. When approached from this point of view, a great deal of similarity between these two processes can be observed. Both means of communication have suffered from attempts to analyze their *content* independent of the process which produces the content. Attempts to change schools, for example, have often focused exclusively on the content (curriculum) and not on the structure of the institution or its internal mechanisms which so fundamentally shape the content of what is called "education". Similarly, the first part of this chapter has been an attempt to focus on the *process* of the mass media and its impact; some points were made about "packaging" the news, the effects of "objectivity", etc. The Panel hopes that one consequence of this report will be the identification of aspects of the adolescent education process which need thorough examination. In this section we examine how schools have met the challenge of education's partner in the communication process, the mass media.

There are three general types of response to the developing impact of mass communication which one can identify among the formal purposive institutions of education. The first of these is simply to ignore it; the school goes about its historically-defined functions without reference to the major ways in which its students are interacting with the mass media. Such a non-response not only is an evasion of the educational responsibilities outlined in this chapter; it is one of the principal contributors to the feeling of many adolescents that school is irrelevant to their lives. Examples of such non-response

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include the English course which discusses Elizabethan drama while ignoring the contemporary stage and movie; music classes which widen rather than narrow the difference between response to Beethoven and the Rolling Stones; art courses which stress the creation of art as an individual process and ignore the creative art as an example of communication.

The non-response to the challenge of the media is on the wane; instruction programs in the media are developing rapidly as a part of the innovative actions of many school districts. These programs, however, occasionally miss the mark. The second general type of response to the impact of the mass media is the "cart before the horse" response. In one variant, this response attempts to capitalize upon the capacity of mass media techniques to maintain interest and convey information while ignoring the effects of the media themselves. This is the danger of the "pure" educational technology approach -- the assumption that one has responded to the impact of mass media by putting the same high school history course on television. The mass media themselves must become objects of analysis and study. It is not enough to merely substitute their techniques for the teacher.

Another response is an error complementary to the last. This is the program which provides instruction in the techniques of media (how to run a movie camera, how to write a newspaper story) while ignoring the content and effects of the mass media process. While instruction in techniques is essential to a good media education, the analysis of the consequences of the media as they presently exist and exploration of ways in which the content and process of the media might be improved, are equally important.

Rarely does one find a media program which manifests the fourth approach, one which combines instruction in the techniques of media with analysis of the social role of media and its possibilities. Yet this is what is necessary if an educational environment is going to provide experience which prepares adolescents for the media world into which they will move and helps them cope with the media environment in which they presently exist.

In the light of the need outlined above and in concert with the other recommendations which make up this report, the Panel suggests the following steps as part of a program to create an adequate media educational environment. As with other recommendations any one is not sufficient to meet the need, nor are all compatible or even desirable in all circumstances. Taken as a whole, however, the Panel feels they point a constructive direction in this crucial area.

1. The Panel recommends a program of "critical research", as Lazarsfeld described it[28], into the social and cultural roles and educational effects of the mass media. Such research should be undertaken undependently of the existing mass communications and advertising industry.

2. Purposive institutions of adolescent education could explore the possibility of extensive study and work with local mass communications media. These experiences could be varied, including periods of employment as copy boys, "cub" reporters or technician apprentices,

seminars with local editors, etc. Other opportunities could be found with local radio and television stations, including assistantships with program directors, disc jockeys and advertising salesmen. The emphasis here would be on learning by doing, studying the media in operation. Schools could move quickly to make such options meaningful alternatives to the present classroom system.

3. Classes in the analysis of the content and process of media could become an integral part of the school curriculum, either as special "mini" courses, or as elements of standard curricula (e.g. a section on "the history of the mass media","the possibilities and limits of television drama", a current affairs class on "how the media dealt with Watergate". Techniques and skills for such content analysis have existed; the point is to give them more central support and importance. Parenthetically, study of the media provides one of the best ways to introduce students to the techniques of social science research. Example: what are the "core values" implicit in the plot of such-and-such a television show? In the records of such-and-such a singer and song-writer? In such-and-such a columnist? The point of such exercises and instruction would be to help the adolescent become an intelligent consumer of media experience. Course work would benefit from the potentially close relationship between the subject matter and the outside experience of the student.*

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*Some educators have suggested techniques similar to those outlined above may be enhanced by the theories and perspectives of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire. See particularly his Pedagogy of the Oppressed.

4. Adolescents should be encouraged and assisted in the creation of their own media. This includes everything from newspapers and literary magazines to running an independent FM station. Many colleges and universities run their own station; high schools could as well. The opportunities for educational radio have not been exhausted; educational television has never been allowed to prove its worth as a viable alternative to commercial broadcasting. Adolescents for whom such experiences were an integral part of their education could be a great help to such institutions.

5. The initial reports on the success of viewer-access cable TV are less than encouraging. In these systems a cable TV franchise is required to reserve channel space and provide equipment for viewer-initiated and produced programming. Where opportunity for such activity exists, the response has been minimal[29]. One franchise reports that the opportunity for such programming was taken advantage of only once in an entire year of operation.

"Viewer access" represents a possible break in the non-feedback one-way communication situation of the mass media. It can only realize its potential, however, if there exists a large number of people with the requisite skills and experience to produce television programs. Schools can provide a major service to the society by providing such training and encouraging students to take advantage of it. National Science Foundation efforts in this direction are to be commended.

6. Another form of media instruction which has not been developed properly is instruction in the possibilities of media. For example, the "instant replay" capability of video-tape could prove to be a tremendous asset to the study of small group dynamics, enabling group members to go back and explore the origins of group misunderstandings and tensions. The series of television programs following the lives of a real family in the U.S. ("The Louds" on PBS) may prove to be of incalculable value to the student of U.S. culture, just as documentaries like Frederick Wiseman's "High School" have helped many students and teachers to understand the reality of their own situation. The possibilities of the mass media still exist; they depend heavily on the "taste" of their audience and a sense of opportunities and limits is essential in the formation of taste.

7. Formal educational institutions must find means of validating learning which takes place outside school and through mass media. The development of "performance criteria" which credit a student for his ability to perform tasks, rather than the present system of Carnegie units, is a step in the right direction. Further steps could be taken which would have the effect of encouraging students to view media as an opportunity for true education and not merely entertainment.

8. Virginia Knauer, special advisor to the President on consumer affairs, recently issued a call for programs in the schools to help people become more effective consumers [30]. The Panel agrees strongly with this idea. All too often consumers are unaware of

product alternative or complications, and the schools and other educational institutions could make a major contribution to alleviating the domination by advertisers of product information communications through effective consumer-education programs. Experience with this kind of instruction (through non-print media) is limited, a fact which suggests that there is a real role for federal initiative in their development. Increased sophistication as consumers -- whether of products or of "experience" -- will be a necessary skill for future citizens.

9. Finally, the Panel recommends the development of technological alternatives to present educational techniques which take advantage of the opportunities which alternate media provide and avoid their disadvantages. The series "Sesame Street" is a good example of educational technology which chooses material appropriate both to the medium and to the audience. The results have been extraordinary[31]. Such productions are expensive; the number of technical experts necessary for quality productions are greater than one would think. For example, a University of Nebraska team for production of a televised psychology series included the following technical staff: content specialists, instructional design specialists, evaluation personnel, production specialists, specialists in teaching, writers, audio specialists, professional talent directors and producers, set designers, cinematographers, still photographers, art and graphics experts, coordination and liaison personnel, as well as a series of support personnel[32].

Nonetheless, the final product is well worth the effort, and per pupil costs can eventually be reduced to less than $2.00 per year. The kind of education in the reality of the media which we have suggested here is essential to the production of such materials; knowing what one can't do is as important as knowing what one can.

In conclusion, the Panel feels that the suggestions they have given point toward the challenge of mass media. As in so many other areas which the Panel discussed, solution to the whole problem is beyond the scope of the schools. Yet education can and must help solve such problems if it is to continue to be relevant to the situation of a developing social order.

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CHAPTER 8

GOVERNANCE "ACCOUNTABILITY" AS IT AFFECTS CERTIFICATION AND ACCREDITATION FOR THE U.S. STUDENT

This chapter attempts to confront two types of problems in the light of Panel recommendations: how to evaluate and certify educational experience, and how to make choices among educational alternatives. This latter area, of course, extends into the whole topic of educational _governance_.

Too often innovations in education confront established practices with such unprecedented situations that primary concern shifts from the innovation itself to wholly different problems. The change itself cannot be evaluated because its worth (or lack of it) is overshadowed by other problems largely unconsidered at the time of implementation.

We begin this chapter in the hope of avoiding this situation. We shall first consider some of the implications for certificatory and governance procedures in secondary education of Panel recommendations. We will discuss these implications with the expectation that they can be planned for. Primarily, we see these considerations as steps towards improvement of the _management_ of change in education.

The best place to start seems to be the area of certification and credentializing. Credentializing is the process of giving a positive evaluation to a specific learning experience or set of skills. Certification is a positive evaluation of a set of learning experiences -- an individual is "certified" when he or she has completed a set of learning experiences which meet the standards set by the certifying agent.

At present the processes of credentializing and certifying educational experience for adolescents are carried out by the high school. The individual is credentialized in a particular area when he has completed (with a passing grade) a school "course" in a particular "subject"; the certificate of successful completion of an acceptable mix of credentials is the "high school diploma". People understand the meaning of the notions "grade", "course", "subject" and "diploma". They are comparable from one school to another because of the "Carnegie unit", which stipulates a certain minimum number of "classes" or subject meetings, so that an individual can transfer credentials or "credits" from one school to another. These notions are meaningful to outside institutions such as employers and colleges, who use them as their basis for determining the acceptability of a candidate.

The notion of diversification in education, however, raises new problems for this credentializing and certifying process. If the formal institutions of adolescent education are to recognize the fact that much learning takes place through mass media, for example, the process of credentializing and certifying must be changed to reflect this cognizance. Processes must be developed for credentializing the learning experiences which take place through media.

One way to do this would be to allow the student who feels that he has learned sufficiently through media to take the same tests as students who have taken the "course" in the "subject". A passing "grade" on the test would constitute a basis for credentializing. This approach has drawbacks in that the system would be biased in favor of the student who took the "course" in a number of unfair ways. First of all, the material on the test would more than likely reflect the particular teaching style and notions of the teacher; the correct interpretation of terms would be the teacher's interpretation, and the non-"course" student would be handicapped by not knowing these interpretations. Additionally, the "grade" which a teacher assigns often reflects much more than the performance of the student on tests[1], including notions such as "progress", "special effort" and "special handicaps". The non-"course" student would not be subject to such elements, whether applied in his favor or not.

An innovation which allowed students to take "class" tests in order to credentialize mass media learning would be helpful, but it would help relatively few students. Most would continue to take the "course", rather than the media option, for reasons outlined above. Particularly when one considers that the "grade" is often as important as the "credential" (i.e. for college entrance where the difference between an "A" and a "C" is as important as the difference between "passing"and"not passing"), most students would continue to take the option which would maximize their chances for the best grade. The

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effect of the innovation would be marginal.

On the other hand, to work out a system of credentializing which made the "media learning" option real would require creating a situation in which the credential was equally accessible for the student who learns through media and the student who learns in the course. What is necessary is a "common coinage", a system of measuring learning which is not biased in favor of either learning situation. Such a common coinage is implied in the notion "performance criteria", which means that the credential is given to the student who can perform certain necessary operations which imply a mastery of the subject no matter which means of learning mastery is chosen. A student with access to a set of such criteria could plan his or her own program of instruction using mass media (or school-provided alternative media such as a programmed instruction) without being at a disadvantage in relation to other students.

The development of performance criteria is thus a necessary first step to implementing diversification of learning in this situation, and it implies a great effort on the part of all concerned parties to state specifically the kinds of skills and practices involved in the mastery of any particular subject matter. However, the benefits from such effort are broader than the ability to provide the kind of diversification outlined above. The development of adequate performance criteria, for example, would give the student a much more specific idea of what is to be learned and the steps through which he will go in order to do so. This would prove to be of benefit to students in "class" as well as those exercizing an alternative option.

Indeed, the need for performance criteria as a part of credentializing has been recognized for a long time for reasons which have little to do with diversification of education. Evaluation experts have long pointed out the need for close correspondence between a grade and ability or competence in the subject matter[2]. Radical critics of education[3] and those not so radical[4] have pointed out many of the ambiguities and inequities in our present system of grading and credentializing. Others have argued for performance criteria as a necessary part of any attempt to develop procedures which assign responsibility for educational effects[5]. In sum, adequate performance criteria are needed in adolescent education whether one accepts or denies the value of the Panel's recommendations.

There are difficulties in the development of adequate criteria: one needs tools to measure performance on the one hand and methods of deciding what is worth measuring on the other. In the area of tools, there are many things which can help, perhaps the most useful being Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus's Handbook on Formative and Summative Evaluation[6]. In addition, many standardized achievement tests are useful tools in measuring parts of the kind of performance valued. It is important to understand the implications of this "parts of". Achievement tests tend to rely heavily on verbal skills which are separable, to some extent, from many subject areas. Thus, they have a tendency to measure verbal skills rather than performance. Perhaps more importantly, achievement tests have been designed to measure only a few of the many competencies which one would hope to be able to measure. Many teachers and educators, in fact, feel that the more important an element is, the less able we are to measure it.

This limitation on the power of measurement tools should be taken seriously. Many attempts at performance contracting have foundered on an overdependence upon achievement tests as indicators of performance[7]. Basically, decisions about how to measure learning have to be seen as secondary to decisions about what should be measured. What is necessary is the commitment of all involved to a process of defining as precisely as possible what the objectives of any particular course of study are. Only after this is done should one turn to the step of determining how to measure whether such objectives have been accomplished. Clearly this process involves a great deal of ambiguity and argumentation. Local educational institutions will have to commit themselves to a long process of discussion of educational objectives and various alternative means of measuring them until a set of measures is developed which is acceptable to all involved.

A set of performance criteria is only adequate when all involved have confidence in them. It is precisely for this reason that when we turn to the question, "Who should develop performance criteria?", we must answer, "All those with an interest in education — teachers, administrators, parents and students." The necessity for this approach can be seen much more clearly if we turn from consideration of credentializing to certification.

The Panel has recommended, for example, that "work experience" be seen as a valuable part of secondary education. It has suggested several forms that such experience might take and several reasons why it is valuable, including self-awareness, knowledge about the adult world and financial independence. However, there is an obvious problem in attempting to relate such experience to the traditional system of credentializing. Even performance criteria, while helpful in evaluating the skills which are developed on a job, are of little use in determining self-esteem or financial independence. There is some reason to believe, moreover, that there is little place for credentializing in such situations; the benefits of such work experience may in many cases be things which are not important, useful, or even possible to measure. (Financial independence, for example, may be valued by one student and not by another; should this be a basis for a grade?)

The problem is more acute at the level of certification. How does one determine the comparability of work experience and an additional course in English literature? While one might decide not to attempt to credentialize work experience, if one were to decide not to include work experience in certification, it would remain an unused option. If it doesnt count students, by and large, won't take it as an option. Just as it was necessary to develop units of comparability between learning in class and learning elsewhere -- which we feel can be provided by adequate performance criteria -- it is necessary to develop units of comparability between what we might call academic learning and non-academic learning.

This is, of course, a difficult problem. Its solution will involve an effort to specify more adequately than has been done in the past the supposed educative benefits of a particular experience. For example, in the area of work experience or work study, a list of the educational benefits proposed might include the following items:

1. Self-esteem
2. Self-identity
3. A sense of order
4. A broader range of adult role models
5. Exposure to broader elements of the whole culture.

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(Taken from HEW Report, Work in America[8])

If an educational governing group decided to include such items as goals of its educational system, its next step would be to provide alternative pathways for arriving at such benefits. Some students might arrive at these benefits through a normal school program; others might choose a work study option; others might try academic-linked "action learning" or involvement in local political processes.

Such steps would require a broader view of education and of what educative experience is than most schools manifest today. One of the benefits which would accrue, however, would be a lessening of the sense of irrelevance which many students have about school[9]. Another would be to assist students to confront learning more directly than through the present "grade" system. In essence, educational institutions would be recognizing what is already evident: the existence of a large element of non-school learning and the certification of it as a legitimate experience.

Before such innovation would be effective, however, changes will have to be made in the interpretation of certification. High school diplomas are of primary importance to outside social institutions, particularly colleges and employers, which rely heavily on them to determine eligibility for admittance or employment. In colleges, information in regard to factors other than grades and achievement scores is usually only taken into account in marginal cases (those who don't qualify under academic criteria are given consideration based on personal assessment) or by elite universities which are in a position to hand-pick a student body. In order to make the diverse educational pathways the Panel has called for a reality for the large percentage of adolescents who go on to higher education, it is necessary for colleges and universities to take greater account of non-academic experience.

The changes outlined above represent a new direction for the certification function of schools. Once again, Panel recommendations in one area seem to require changes in another. Yet in this area as well, we find much criticism of the present practices of educational institutions for independent reasons. The prestigious Newman Committee, in its Report on Higher Education, concluded its comments about credentials and certification in the following manner:

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> "The ... immediate need is to break the credentials monopoly by opening up alternative routes to obtaining credentials. The monopolistic power of colleges and universities (and, we might add, high schools) cannot be justified on the grounds of their effectiveness in screening for occupational performance, nor on the grounds that being the sole agencies for awarding degrees and credentials is necessary to their educational mission. Internal reforms now under way -- a de-emphasis on grades, more independent work, credit for off-campus experience, modest expansion in the use of equivalency examinations -- are important but not enough. New paths to certification are needed." [10]

These are the same "new paths" that are required if out-of-school educational experience is to be incorporated in a meaningful way into educational planning.

Another aspect of the certification problem is presented in the work of Ivar Berg[11]. He shows that, while educational credentials are often indispensable for getting a job, there is increasing evidence that they have little to do with how well an individual performs on the job. Additionally, Berg feels that many employers demand too much education for the jobs they offer, leading to much job dissatisfaction. An "opening up" of the certification process is a step toward alleviating this situation, yet a problem would still exist if employers merely raise educational requirements as the number of certified people increases. Again, the problem is one which educational institutions alone cannot solve. Nonetheless, alterations in their practices are necessary if the problem is to be solved.

We now turn to the implication of Panel recommendations in the area of governance. Good governance in a democratic situation involves at least three things: adequate information for informed decisions (evaluation); procedures for making decisions acceptable to all involved; and adequate procedures for carrying out the decisions made (administration). We shall consider each aspect separately.

"Adequate information" for decision-making is vital. As we have indicated, collective development of educational alternatives for certification and performance criteria for those educational experiences susceptible to meaningful measurement are the best ways to provide adequate information for decision-making.

Another aspect of the problem of governance is the question of procedures for making decisions which are as satisfying as possible for all involved. Panel recommendations for diversification in education do imply certain changes in decision-making. If the notion of what experiences are potentially educational is expanded, ways must be found to involve those providing the new experiences in decision-making. If a community arts center were opened as a part of a set of alternative educational experiences, for example, methods would have to be developed for decision-making which represented all the potential users of the facility, to design a proper mix of programming. A wide variety of non-academic offerings would mean a larger variety of interested groups. Additionally, a closer relationship between community and school would be necessary to insure that decisions about educational alternatives met the needs of the community.

One approach to meeting such eventualities would betto retain the present local school board system. In this event, the Board would find itself facing unprecedented decisions, like how to "certify" local artists for the center; how to construct a program to enhance age-mixing; where to find and how to allocate money for this new venture.

Another alternative is to leave decision-making in the hands of other governmental agencies. Major segments of educational policy would then no longer be controlled by the Board, and it would develop semi-diplomatic relations with other governing agencies. As more options developed, decision-making would become more complex.

Neither of these alternatives is appealing; the problems are just too great. Several suggestions about governance of education have been advanced to meet these and other problems. The Panel is not of one mind concerning the best solution to these problems. We shall therefore attempt to list the proposed solutions hoping that this will clarify debate.

1. The "Educational Assembly" idea. This notion starts from a recognition of the various agencies which affect the educational environment. Aside from public schools there are museums, symphony orchestras, private schools of both a general and specific nature, educational media, and various governmental units (local, state and national). All of them have a direct commitment to education. There are also major institutions in society which affect the educational environment (such as the mass media, churches, civic groups, and even the family) even though they don't have specific formalized educational functions. In order to make effective policy in this situation, it is

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argued that a regionally-elected legislative body with a specific responsibility for education is necessary. Such a body would have direct responsibility to voters and it would be able to cope with issues in a broad manner.

2. Tie education much more directly to local political units. At the present time school jurisdictions are often separate from other political units; school board elections occur at different times and board elections are, at least nominally, non-partisan. Making school board offices appointive, or even abolishing school boards and making schools directly responsible to city councils, it is argued, would do much to break down the insulation of school systems and make them more able to meet new situations.

3. Develop state-wide school districts. By tightening up administrative command, it would be easier to direct and manage, and to institute accountability, due to the clear chain of command.

4. Create building-level councils of parents, teachers, students, administrators and interested community members, presumably including representatives of other agencies with educational interests and programs. Such a group would be better able, it is asserted, to sense the educational needs of the individual school community and develop programs to meet these needs.

These alternatives represent widely different thrusts. Additionally, various implementations of them could be developed;

fund-raising, for example, could be a state-wide function, while fund dispersement could be handled by the local school committee.

Whichever alternative is chosen, room must be made for participation of all interested groups. Bloom, Hastings and Madaus discuss the important role of students in the definition of objectives[12]. Albert Shanker, President of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City, discusses the importance of involving all elements in decision-making: "The ... concept of accountability as being the development, with other groups, of common objectives is, I believe, acceptable to teachers, because strictly speaking it is not for teachers alone to determine what the goals of education are."[13] He goes on to discuss actual attempts to do just that.

These are big changes and we should ask if the present school board system is adequate for the job. The evidence indicates that in the past it has not been so. Rather than being open to influence and participation of all sectors of the local community, education has developed in an atmosphere of physical and philosophical isolation, dominated by the power of a professional bureaucracy which is described as "a monolith under oligarchical control"[14]. The isolation of the educational enterprise from the field of social forces in its environment minimized its dependence on environmental constraints, according to some researchers[15]. Moreover, Smoley's study[16] is only one of a number of studies in the field which indicate an overwhelming number of routine decisions at almost all levels of education. The more routinized the policy process, the more the managers of the organization influence policy, and the easier it is for those with an obvious, direct and persistent stake in policy to influence it[17, 18].

Yet the system of public education in the U.S. has always praised itself for being under "local control". This seems to contradict the view of the scholars. The answer to the contradiction is to be found in an understanding of the particular type of local control involved. For example, most studies of local school boards have demonstrated that only a narrow range of interests is usually reflected on boards (Kimbrough[19]; Gleaser[20]; Goldhammer[21, 22, 23]; Vidich and Bensman, 1960). In addition, most school politics as indicated above are further isolated by elections held at times differing from those of other governing agencies, different jurisdiction boundaries, and an ideology of non-partisanship. In this isolated atmosphere the professional educator has had extensive power to influence decisions through his control of information and ability to structure agenda[24]. This is true at the local level as well as at the level of state government, where many of the most important decisions about education are made. By and large, the governmental system of education is closed to most citizens. Increased public concern, particularly over the finances of education, as well as the manifest conflict and disruption of education which occurred in the late 1960's, led us to question the desirability of retaining these traditional educational governance structures, whatever alternative is chosen.

We now turn from decision-making to administration. The administration of a local arts center could be handled in a variety of ways. One might be administration through the local principal, whose job would thus expand greatly in scope. As educational options developed, so would the complications of the job. Another alternative would be independent administration of different learning options, with the principal becoming something of an education broker, making available different options and smoothing the way as much as possible. Another option would be to remove administration of the overall educational experience from the school entirely, so that the principal's role would be the close supervision of a limited set of clearly academic programs. Responsibility for certification of educational experience (as opposed to credentialization) would rest with an outside agency, perhaps a community counseling agency with far-ranging interests and powers.

There are advantages and drawbacks to each option; no one is clearly superior at this point. What is clear is the value of local involvement in the implementation of decisions, whatever the administrative alternative chosen. This is true whether one speaks of evaluation, decision-making or administration.

A final area of concern, which will tie together much of the foregoing, is the area of change-management in education. As indicated previously, the Panel feels that much can be done to make the process of changing _per se_ much more effective than it is at the moment. By way of introduction to this topic the Panel would like to consider a recent controversy over the effectiveness of education which has led to much public concern.

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This concern was originally the consequence of the publication of the Coleman Report, Equality of Educational Opportunity[25]. This work, intended to document the consequences of differences in the educational opportunity given white and non-white children in the U.S., indicated instead that educational achievement (according to achievement tests) is only marginally related to certain increased expenditures, such as more books in libraries, better facilities, etc. Achievement was more closely related to social factors, including the racial mix in schools for minority students. Mostly, however, highest correlations were found between socioeconomic status and school achievement. Evaluations of the study, including On Equality of Educational Opportunity[26], have substantiated the basic perspective of the Coleman Report, as has the Jencks study, Inequality[27].

These studies have unleashed a great deal of controversy over the question of "whether schools make a difference". Some observers, citing the research findings as evidence, have concluded that schools "make no difference" and that therefore there is no justification for continued support of education as a social priority. Others, attacking the studies on one basis or another, have argued to the contrary that schools do make a difference; that the kind of data used in Coleman, Jencks, etc. are not sufficient to prove the case. However, they have been hard put to prove their case from other data.

One of the strong impressions which emerges from the controversy is the lack of conclusive data about the effectiveness of education. If the controversy stimulates a concerted effort on the part of those involved to find adequate data, then it will have had value. Indeed, it has already been beneficial as a corrective to those educational enthusiasts who have based the argument for public support for education on the notion that an educational strategy is sufficient to correct the inequalities in education.

The Panel feels that equal educational opportunity is still a valid goal; in fact it is a necessary condition in a democratic society. We take some satisfaction from the Coleman findings that some social conditions in schools, such as the mixing of white and black students in appropriate amounts, seem to have a positive effect on achievement. The kind of recommendations we are making in this report, such as those which call for honoring and respecting differences among adolescents, should have further beneficial effects.

The Panel does not wish, at this point, to fall into the trap of overenthusiastic advocacy of specific reforms in education no matter how valuable they may appear. Indeed, the Panel would hope that the primary effect of the controversy would be a recognition of the need to be more specific in education about what we are trying to accomplish and the need to develop procedures for determining if we are accomplishing what we want. Without such procedures much of education will continue to be dominated by rhetoric rather than science, and attempts to develop accountability will be, in the words of evaluation specialist Michael Scriven, "a sham"[27].

One area in which the specification of educational objectives should be possible and manageable is innovation. While it may be difficult to declare the goals of instruction in English literature with sufficient specificity at this time, it should be possible to state clearly the objectives of change in such a program. As experience with such procedures expanded, it would be much easier to apply them to existing program elements. In sum, we are suggesting that "change elements" be seen as a starting point for developing meaningful programs of objective statements and performance criteria.

Such steps would be healthy antidotes to the way that change too often takes place presently. Innovation is initiated frequently by excessive shouting about what is wrong with schools'the way they are, shouting all too often occasioned by the isolation of educational decision-makers from community sentiment. In order to call attention to their ideas, reformers are often compelled to grossly overstate the benefits of their proposals. Particular proposals take on the aura of cure-alls, and opponents of the measure are painted as opposing all change.

Once the measure is adopted, it becomes difficult to assess its effects. Those supporting it tend to see the implementation of the measure as the real victory; thus, the situation is governed more by a political perspective than a perspective of educational benefit. Those who oppose it, instead of working to maximize its benefits, often obstruct the program, if only passively. Since one's idea of the success or failure of the program is so much a consequence of one's political perspective, little effort is made to develop procedures acceptable to

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both sides for determining the merit of the program. Problems which develop in implementation are seen by some as confirmation of its fundamental weakness, by others as a consequence of sabotage or ineptness; rarely is the program altered to overcome the problems. And, of course, with opinion so divided little is done to foresee problems and prepare for their eventuality.

This is indeed a peculiar situation, allowing no feedback in the implementation process and thus no room for meeting unexpected situations. When the innovation fails to meet the high expectations created by the reformers, disillusionment sets in and the situation reverts back to the previous state, except that there may be even less visible concern for schools.

The "successful" innovation often fares little better. The project, fired during the first period by leadership with a sense of mission, the "Hawthorne effect" which accompanies any new venture, and the enthusiasm of everyone involved, is branded a success. As the project becomes routinized, however, less interest exists and enthusiasm declines. Along with this decline goes most of the improvement in test scores, etc. Once again, success or failure was primarily a matter of people's impressions, and it was not lasting.

Yet change in education, as in any other enterprise, can be managed in a way which enables all involved to develop a realistic assessment. To eliminate the factors in the environment which lead to the kind of situations described above, and to make management of change a sufficient strategy for turning education in the direction of the evaluative and governance procedures suggested earlier in this chapter, the Panel recommends the following steps:

1. It is important for processional school people to counteract the aura of isolation by actively soliciting proposals for educational change and critiques of present practices. This will do much to obviate the need for excessive rhetoric on the part of reformers.

2 Attempts should be made to enlist the interest and participation of all those involved in education in the local community to spell out clearly the objectives of any particular program. Sufficient consensus must be reached over objectives; doing this will involve much discussion and compromise.

3. Once objectives are agreed on, an equal amount of effort must be expended in developing performance criteria for evaluation of the innovation. Such criteria should be reliable and verifiable -- that is, they should be ones that can be used in more than one circumstance, and they must be measurable in some way. "Measurable" in this sense means something close to "discoverable"; a set of procedures must be developed such that, when the procedures are enacted, the meaning of the outcome will be clear to all parties involved. "Measurable" does not only mean standardized tests, but many other procedures as well.

An example may be helpful. Suppose a goal for a program is "ability to independently investigate a particular problem". A test of such an ability might be designed which gave a student a particular topic problem, recorded his attempts to go to resource materials, his use of those materials, his organization of the materials thus discovered,

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and the method of reporting the materials. Judgments by independent observers of the student would be a "measure" of ability in this area.

Finally, such criteria should be understood by the groups involved. If they are not understood, interpretation of results will be futile, leading to the kind of rhetorical argument the Panel hopes to avoid.

It is important to understand the difference between evaluation leading to certification and evaluation of program. In a program of work study, for example, it seems unfair to attempt to base a decision on whether or not a student gets a certificate on a determination of whether or not he has greater self-confidence. On the other hand, it seems reasonable that a work-study program which has increased student self-confidence as an educational objective should develop some method of evaluating that program. Asking for the opinions of the students involved in theprogram is an unreasonable way of doing this only if the students' certification depends upon the answer. If it does affect certification, students will have a tendency to give answers which will enhance their grade.

Thus, in many circumstances evaluation for certification should be separated from evaluation for program decision-making.

Where a primary goal of a program is instruction in a specific skill, however, such a separation is not as necessary, since what a student has learned is a good indication of the value of the experience.

4. During the initial period of installation, allowance must be made for in process or formative evaluation. In educational research, it is important to maintain external conditions as constant as possible so that results will truly reflect the particular factors being considered. In educational change, however, the desire is to create the best learning environment. Evaluative guideposts can serve valuable functions, such as helping to bring about early discovery of unforeseen difficulties. The distinction between such formative evaluation and summative "end-point" evaluation is spelled out clearly by Bloom, Hastings, and Madaus[29]. Formative evaluation for "mid-course" correction is most useful when all parties concerned are committed to the success of the project; otherwise, mid-course correction may be seen as "changing the rules in the middle of the game".

In sum, the procedures suggested above represent a guide for effective management of educational change. Regardless of the convictions of their users, they can be effective tools for ascertaining merit or lack of merit of innovative elements. As their use became more widespread, they would point the way toward the kind of evaluations necessary for real accountability in education.

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CHAPTER 9

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PREPARATION OF YOUTH FOR THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK

Adolescent education should attempt to prepare youth for and expose them to the experience of work.

Work is a pervasive and generally highly-respected institution in the U.S. In addressing themselves to the role of educational institutions in preparing adolescents for work participation, the Panel discussed the values of work to people of all ages, the experience - and lack thereof - of teenagers in the labor market, and the current role of the schools and other institutions in the areas of youth employment and careers.

In the U.S. work historically has been both a central value and a basic institution. From a blend of religious, political and economic theories and beliefs has come a widespread conviction that work, and such related characteristics as thrift, diligence and deferring gratification[1], are of high importance, often to be valued in and of themselves. In addition, the monetary rewards of work are central to the operation of contemporary American society. Necessary for participation in our consumption-oriented culture, money is a highly desirable reward and powerful source of motivation. Earning money is seen as an indication of independence and maturity, and deserving of respect. One's success, both material and personal, is often measured by the size of one's income.

Graduates of high school vocational programs do seem to have lower unemployment rates and higher wages than non-college-bound youth who complete high school without vocational training[2]. Vocational high school graduates also appear to have more occupational adaptability than academic graduates, as indicated by the greater likelihood of the former to migrate out of depressed areas[3]. However, the advantages of vocational education graduates may be due more to their credentials, basic education, and "creaming" processes than to the acquisition of any specific technical skill[4]. Vocational graduates do better than general curriculum students in tight labor markets and periods of low unemployment, but not under high unemployment conditions[5]. The wage differentials between vocational and general curriculum graduates also reflect the fact that the latter are likely to be disadvantaged youth, screened out of college, vocational high schools and good jobs[6]. High schools in New York City report better attendance than academic high schools (80% v. 75%) and less disorderly behavior[7], but several studies suggest that high school vocational enrollees have higher drop-out rates than the already high rates of academic and general curriculum students[8].

A number of factors seem to have combined to produce the high rate of vocational school drop-outs. They have not been closely geared to the changing U.S. economy, and substantial lags have existed between labor market changes and curriculum changes, largely because of the insulation of these programs from employers, the community and the economy. Programs have operated with inadequate or non-existent labor market data or projections[9].

Reform in vocational education has been relatively slow-moving and unimpressive. Despite the innovations of the Vocational Education Acts of 1963 and 1968, federal leadership for significant change has been limited. With the federal government providing only one-fifth of all vocational education funds, state and local educational bodies are often able to dilute or discredit disliked federally-established priorities[10].

Largely in response to the inadequacies of secondary technical training, the U.S. Office of Education recently proposed the broader concept of "career education", officially defined as "the total effort of public education and the community aimed at helping all individuals to become familiar with the values of a work-oriented society, to integrate these values into their personal value systems, and to implement these values in their lives in such a way that work becomes possible, meaningful, and satisfying to each individual"[11]. Information on career opportunities and labor market requirements would be provided in grades 1 through 12. All high school students, regardless of future employment or higher education plans, would engage in both academic and occupational learnings, whether in school or out. Thus, each student would be equipped with both basic academic competencies and at least entry-level job skills[12].

The Panel considered several questions in order to formulate their recommendations: (a) the usefulness of the high school diploma in obtaining jobs, (b) the limited performance of the secondary schools, employers and employment service in placing youth in jobs, (c) the schools' lack of accommodation to the large percentage of students already working, and (d) the school as a workplace.

The Panel's recommendations are as follows:

1. Educational and other societal institutions should be urged to actively support the provision of work opportunities for all youth who want them, since work experience can offer interested adolescents a number of potential benefits. Work is not an unqualified good, of course, and the Panel is advocating neither an emphasis on the work ethic in the development of young people nor the exploitation of child labor. However, it recognizes that the entry-level jobs which teenagers usually occupy are frequently menial, routinized and of low prestige, and consequently lacking in some of the characteristics of an optimal learning environment.

In spite of this negative factor, research and observation reveal that working does have numerous advantages. Having a job can, among other things, alleviate a teenager's economic needs, promote his sense of independence and self-esteem, reduce adolescents' isolation from older people, and provide them with many and varied non-academic learning experiences not available in school. More than other types of out-of-school learning (volunteer activities, action-learning, political involvement, etc.) work can provide a sense of independence based on providing for one's own needs and a feeling of being in the mainstream of American society. Whether or not having a job will enhance a young person's later employability is as yet unclear. While employment or job-seeking may develop a teenager's work discipline, job-hunting skills and labor market knowledge, these gains might also be easily accrued in employment-hunting or on-the-job training after leaving school.

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2. The major forces behing adolescent unemployment and under-employment (the state of the economy, legal requirements, employer attitudes, etc.) are well beyond the control of the school or alternative educational institutions to remedy. Hence, the Panel adds its voice to those calling for the attainment of a *full employment economy*, with adequate job opportunities for all. A buoyant economy is also essential if education for future careers is to be effective. The Panel advocates the utilization of fiscal and monetary policies to reduce unemployment generally and for the young particularly. Such action could concentrate on maintaining and enlarging the demand for manpower and facilitating informed movement of persons within and between small labor markets.

3. The many structural barriers (unemployment insurance and other payroll taxes, workmen's compensation payments, etc.) to youth should be removed. As one step, the Panel endorses the call of the 1972 Manpower Report of the President for "wider dissemination of information and simplified guidelines with respect to child labor laws, in order to eliminate what appears to be employer confusion about them"[13]. However, the existing impediments to youth employment should not be replaced by positive incentives to employers to hire adolescents which will put that age group at a competitive advantage over other job-seekers.

It is suggested that federal and state governments and labor groups should study and cooperate on various means of reducing discrimination against adolescent workers. Any strategy should include more concerted efforts to eliminate racial and sex discrimination in hiring, wage and promotion practices.

The Panel also advocates the elimination of artificial hiring requirements to prevent irrelevant job qualification restrictions on high school students and drop-outs and to more realistically supply labor market demands. The anti-credentialism stand of the Supreme Court (Griggs v. Duke Power Company, 1971) should be extended in the form of specific legislation.

4. Adolescents who do work have almost invariably found and secured their jobs without any institutional assistance. Neither schools, employers, the employment service, nor other institutions effectively aid in the transition from school to work, even for students. Youth themselves are informally providing the service, relying on such communication networks as friends, family, other significant adults and "the grapevine". Although this system has its advantages (60% of teenage students work during the year)[14], it appears inadequate to meet the numerous forces working to limit adolescent employment.

The Panel feels that youthful employment should not be left to happenstance and strongly recommends that a local job market information center be set up in each community or group of communities. Preliminary data (Parnes et al.)[15] indicates that specific labor market information

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can provide a significant pay-off in terms of income. A local job information agency would provide up-to-date information on openings, characteristics and trends in the local job market in a systematic and understandable manner. The center might also undertake job guidance functions.

The Panel also recommends that attention be given to the creation of a job-placement mechanism for youth. This may or may not be part of a work-placement mechanism for the general population. Several possible approaches to this function are worth investigating at either the federal research or local experimental level. The three existing agencies (schools, employers and the employment service) could work together more closely, cooperating and and coordinating their activities. The local manpower office might start working in the school, to make its services and job information more accessible to youth. Such an action would discriminate against out-of-school youth if other steps were not also taken. Employers could establish closer contact with the other two agencies and adopt more realistic hiring practices[16]. The schools, working more directly with local employers, could develop a more militant placement service. The poor performance of individual schools and school districts should be made public as a means of stimulating them to improve in this area[17]. Politicians might even try to win young voters by highlighting the inadequacies of present attempts at institutionalized job placement for youth.

Other approaches to job-placement for youth include applying to the formal institutions the successful components of the informal system by which most adolescents presently find work. Additionally, the proposed local job market information center or other new institutions might be designed to seriously undertake youth job placement.

5. Turning to the role of educational institutions regarding adolescent employment, the Panel insists that the focus of the discussion be shifted from individual employability to job availability. Educators have traditionally concentrated on job training, attempting to equip students with special skills and increase their familiarity with job environments to enable them to compete more effectively for jobs. However the youth unemployment figures of the last few years and various studies have made it clear that the acquisition of a job (especially for a career) is less a question of a person learning to find and perform jobs than it is a problem of jobs being available and accessible.

A body of data exists which, despite some serious limitations, suggests that the pre-job, specific skills training emphasis of most manpower and vocational education programs has had relatively little impact on the job-holding, advancement and wages of the participants.[18]

This is not to condemn all such programs out of hand. Although plagued with poor implementation and management, they represent attempts to deal especially with problems of ethnic minorities and the poor. Their

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failure to show immediate gains in graduates' jobs and incomes does not mean they do not have other benefits. They may be resulting in improved self-esteem, higher aspirations, skills for better coping with "the system" and even improved reading, math and verbal abilities. Any proposed corrective action should seriously consider the effect of these programs on the disadvantaged groups which they serve.

6. The Panel concludes that, on the whole, the vocational shop courses in both comprehensive high schools and vocational education schools fail in their stated objectives. Although business education appears successful, most of the in-school training courses are severaly limited by their operational and structural characteristics and their isolation from the larger economy. As an example of its thinking, the Panel suggests that a home-repair course, for instance, would prove of practical value for both college-bound and non-college-bound youth.

One possibility for moving training ouf of the schools is for local boards of education to contract out those types of vocational and skill training in which local business and industry is most proficient. Another possibility is for the community colleges to assume most of the skills training (especially shop instruction) for their localities. Community colleges have been growing rapidly in both number and enrollments in the last decade; 1000 schools with 2 million students in 1970, as compared with 500 schools and one-third that enrollment in 1960. These institutions often have close ties with employers, both public and private, and conduct many effective work-study and cooperative education programs. Despite a heavy emphasis on academic programs and on students preparing to transfer to 4-year college, they appear to be fast becoming one of the most productive manpower training institutions in the nation. Cost-effectiveness studies[19] indicate that these schools are more efficient than other post-secondary vocational-technical agencies. They also do better than vocational high schools in terms of the occupations and earnings of their graduates, although care must be taken in interpreting these findings due to the different student populations being served. Questions still exist, of course, about the overall competency of community colleges in vocational training. In addition, flexible entrance procedures would have to be worked out so that high school students, especially the disadvantaged, would not be denied access on the basis of insufficient age, credentials or financial means. Another problem is that of federal vocational education monies, which constitute the major source of much-needed federal funding to secondary schools. Careful consideration would have to be given to how those dollars would be distributed.

The problem of redesigning or relocating vocational training is complex. However, the Panel agrees with the HEW report on Work in America that "the most advantageous acquisition of specific skills occurs either on the job or in post-secondary institutions such as community colleges where there is a much closer relationship to true (manpower) demand than in high schools."[20]

7. The Panel strongly endorses work-study and cooperative education

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programs for adolescents and calls for their expansion. Students in these programs receive a high school diploma for a combination of school work and part-time employment. Such activities offer many of the advantages of authentic employment while integrating a youth's work and school experiences and providing support and guidance. The adolescents involved generally earn salaries, acquire some occupational skills, and establish some contacts in the work community useful in later job-seeking. Cooperative education often helps to make academic studies more relevant and rewarding for students and to improve self-perceptions and expectations by enabling youth to see what they are capable of doing. These part-time jobs also decrease an adolescent's isolation from the older population and can give him insight into the nature of different occupations[21]. In sum, cooperative education "has been among the most successful of the high school vocational education programs in training students and in subsequently placing them in jobs".[22]

The 1968 Vocational Education Amendments and the 1972 Higher Education Act have authorized funds for cooperative education programs, and nearly 300,000 high school students were enrolled in 1970[23]. The Panel recommends that local, state and federal assistance be increased to expand the occurrence of these programs and to improve them. Such programs tend to be costly and time-consuming for schools to operate, since they require the soliticing of cooperation from employers and the supervision and scheduling of each participant's activities. To be most successful work-study programs have to provide jobs with some learning potential, although many employers are reluctant to participate in such programs and others often cannot afford (given the various structural barriers to youth employment) to provide a student with anything except a low-grade job.

To strengthen the effectiveness of cooperative education and work-study projects, increased emphasis should be placed on providing individualized programs for students. Also important is sufficient flexibility and options to allow participants to move back and forth between the classroom and the workplace without penalty (loss of credit or no credit). In addition programs should attempt to instruct adolescents in "occupational citizenship" - such organizational politics and behaviors of the work situation as how a given business is governed, the rôle and workings of the union, and how to file individual grievances. Such well-supervised on-the-job training should be made available to the younger students as well and should attempt to include more minority youth, who often are discriminated against in getting jobs.

8. Educational institutions for adolescents should be more cognizant of and responsive to the fact that many in-school youth do have jobs for some period of their high school years. School time-schedules could be more flexible (e.g. full-credit evening and summer classes), and open entry-exit procedures should be initiated. In addition, homework burdens might be lightened.

Secondary schools may or may not be the best institutions to help youth prepare for and find work, but they can sanction or certify the learning accrued in the workplace. The development of proficiency criteria, to replace Carnegie credit units, is one important step in this process.

9. In order to initiate and reinforce work programs, the Panel recommends that the federal government, through the various appropriate agencies, undertake research in the area of adolescents and the labor market. Since the number of specific subjects on which data is needed is virtually endless, the panel mentions only those which were found to be stumbling-blocks during its deliberations: a) the implications of vocational education, both broadly and narrowly defined, need to be clarified, especially the various manpower and vocational education training programs that have had some success; b) secondary-level jobs and their relation to other employment should be explored to determine their short and long-term effects on the adolescents who occupy them; c) the immediate and later fates of the "no-no's" (those not in school and not in the labor market) should be studied, as should the relationship between school attendance and jobs; d) the possible effects on adolescent and general employment of increasing or decreasing the period of compulsory preparatory education; e) the impact of a teenager's employment on his in-school learning.

10. The secondary school's role in the preparation of youth for work has centered around vocational education courses and schools. Although the data is limited, the Panel has concluded that such early technical training is relatively ineffective, despite the successes

of work-study programs and business education courses. The latter are by no means the only contributions education institutions can make in this area, however. Well-developed reading, mathematical and communication skills, for instance, are always attractive to employers. "Employers find that young workers who have 'learned how to learn' can quickly master the specifics of most jobs"[24]. The Office of Education's concept of a "career education" seems to stress generalized in-school training in technical and problem-solving skills that can be transferred to a broad range of occupations.

In addition, the schools' curricula can be adapted to provide work-related courses not based on skill-training. The HEW Work in America report suggested courses in institutional management and administration, basic entrepreneurial skills and such practical "how to" skills as cooking, simple car and/or home repair, income tax filing and house-buying. The latter courses should be "directed at a set of skills that the students can use while they are taking the courses or ones they will need no matter what jobs they eventually take"[25]. Consumer education is another important and interrelated component of preparation for working or producing.

If educational institutions are to keep their function of counseling adolescents on future choices, occupational and career counseling must be given the type of serious attention now reserved for higher education. The former area has been long neglected, even though 80% of new full-time labor market entrants 16-24 years old have not graduated from college.

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Two conditions should be approximated if educational institutions are to be relevant to adolescents' immediate and long-term employment needs. Since the school is itself a workplace for both students and faculty, it should attempt to maximize the satisfaction of those who work there. This would mean "removing the equivalent necessity of punching a time-clock, increasing the autonomy of the 'worker', enlarging (individuals') tasks, and reducing rigidities ... since it may be the case that a satisfying education would be the best precursor of satisfying work"[26]. A second high priority goal for educational institutions should be to establish close and active links with employers, supervisors and union officials, and employers will need to undertake self-evaluation and restructuring to accommodate greater numbers of youth. These actions are important, not only for the successful operation of individual work programs, but because work and education are too important in the immediate and future lives of adolescents and their role in society to operate in isolation from one another.

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